The Christian Century

A Journal of Religion

Are Church Women Being Exploited?

By Georgiana Merrill Root

Courage, Mr. President!

An Editorial

The Entail of Hate

An Editorial

Old King Coal

By Harold P. Marley

After Liberalism?

By John C. Bennett

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In This Issue

JOHN C. BENNETT is professor of Christian theology in Auburn theological seminary, and is rapidly becoming known as one of the most influential members of the group of younger church leaders who believe that the future vitality of religion in the west requires the establishment of a social order in which it will be possible for the individual to practice the teachings of Christ. In line with this belief, Prof. Bennett is among those who insist that Christian thought must take account of the social philosophy of Karl Marx, while at the same time he holds that the struggle to rid society of its injustices will attain success only when the vital role of religion in transforming and sustaining the human spirit is recognized.

HAROLD P. MARLEY who writes on the state of affairs in America's most chaotic major industry, is minister of the First Unitarian church at Ann Arbor, Mich. Mr. Marley makes a proposal which, so far as known, has not been made before. It strikes off on such a new line, in dealing with the problems of an industry in which new ideas are obviously needed, that it is to be hoped that it will be carefully studied and debated in all quarters affected by the fate of the coal mines and miners.

GEORGIANA MERRILL ROOT of Somerville, Mass., is the wife of the New England correspondent of The Christian Century, and has behind her searching discussion of a question that must have occurred to thousands, years in parsonage and in the home of an officer of a state church federation.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

November 8, 1933

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Calendar of Coming Events

Nov. 5-10. United foreign missionary conference, Chicago.
Nov. 7-10. Texas Baptist general convention, Mineral Wells.
Nov. 8-10. Joint convention N. Y. state council of churches and N. Y. state council of religious education, Syracnse.
Nov. 9. Northwest Texas conference. Methodist Episcopal church, south, Clarendon.
Nov. 9. Central Texas, Methodist Episcopal church, south, Corsicana.
Nov. 9. Youth of New York presbytery, fall conference, New York city.
Nov. 9-12. 75th anniversary, National association of local preachers St. George's church, Philadelphia.
Nov. 9-12. Missouri state Christian Endeavor convention, Kansas City.
Nov. 10. 450th birthday anniversary of Martin Luther.
Nov. 10. Annual meeting New York conference Woman's home missionary society (Methodist), Trinity church, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Nov. 10-11. Eighteenth annual meeting and international goodwill congress of the World Alliance for International Friendship, Bellevue-Stratford hotel, Philadelphia.
Nov. 12. American Education Sunday.
Nov. 12-18. World's week of prayer, promoted by Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.
Nov. 14 Semi-annual meeting Methodist board of bishops, First church, Germantown, Pa.
Nov. 15-18. Memphis conference, Methodist Episcopal church, south, Covington, Tenn.
Nov. 17. Annual meeting, Newark conference, Woman's home missionary society, at Y. W. C. A. building, Newark.
Nov. 20-22. Annual meeting, Methodist Board of home missions and church extension, Philadelphia.
Nov. 22-25. Annual meeting, Methodist board of foreign missions, Central church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Nov. 27. Presbyterian ministers meeting, First church, Detroit.
Nov. 27-29. New York area ministers' retreat, Thayer-West Point inn, West Point, N. Y.
Nov. 29. Florida state conference, Methodist Episcopal church, south, Ocala.
Dec. 6. Women's presbyterial society, First Presbyterian church house, Detroit.
Dec. 7-8. Foreign missionary conference, Indianapolis.
Dec. 10. Universal Bible Sunday.
Feb. 12-14. Annual International Sunday school council meeting, Kalamazoo, Mich.

In Coming Issues

Despite the turmoil of contemporary life, thoughtful minds recognize the necessity for an occasional pause in which they can pierce below today's surface experiences to wrestle with the fundamental questions. Philosophy, in other words, must still play its part. "Religion as a Muscle-Builder," a socratic dialogue by Vergil C. Aldrich, is likely to provoke long discussion when, in a coming issue, it launches readers on a sprightly journey into the philosophic realm.

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EDITORIAL

MAXIM LITVINOV, soviet commissar of foreign affairs, is on his way to Washington just as the last of the important delegates to the disarmament conference are scattering from Geneva. In the coincidence of these two events there lies concealed one of those unforeseen opportunities to do a great deed for world betterment which, grasped by strong men, give them their high place in history. The Geneva disarmament conference, now adjourned until December 4, may be regarded as virtually dead. At least, it must find some entirely new and daring proposal by which to guide its actions, or any treaty it may write will be a monument to futility. On the other hand, why should M. Litvinov's visit be concerned only with recognition, tsarist debts, trade agreements and propaganda control? This is the one European statesman who, at Geneva, has dared to cut straight through all irrelevancies and commit his nation to complete, unequivocal disarmament if others will join. Is not his visit to Washington at this time a heaven-sent opportunity for Mr. Roosevelt to join with him in making that offer together and, relying on Hitler's announcement that Germany is ready to do the same thing, now confront the hesitant states of Europe with the sight of these three potent nations offering complete disarmament as a way to break the European stalemate?

Peace's Hour of Opportunity at Washington

An Offer That Could Not Be Ignored

THERE can be no question as to the popularity which such an offer would have with the people of the United States. When Mr. Hoover declared that no nation could go farther than we were willing to go in disarmament, he was giving faithful expression to the American mood. And this feeling has been intensified as the American people have observed, with horror, the apparent steady drift of Europe toward war. Neither could such an offer be lightly dismissed in Britain, France and Italy. Total disarmament when offered by Russia, or when offered by Germany, separately, has been regarded as insufficiently attested for good faith to make such offers worthy of discussion. But should the United States join this group of states, and bring to pass a joint offer of this sort, the tax-cursed peoples of Europe would demand that the proposal be given a new consideration. They know that the proposals which have been under discussion at Geneva will lead to rearmament rather than disarmament; they know that Stanley Baldwin was telling the truth when he said that "if rearmament began in Europe, you may say goodbye to any reduction of taxation for a generation," and that the menace now clearly ahead is "the end of the civilization we know." Let such a dual offer as this come out of the days of conference in the White House and the now sorely stricken hopes of peace will be revived in a night the world around. Will Mr. Roosevelt and M. Litvinov seize this chance to make their negotiations something more, far more, than a prelude to trade? They know that trade revival in the face of impending war is an empty dream.

Liquor Advertising Barred from Mails

WHILE several important newspapers have already announced that they will not carry liquor advertising after repeal, others—including the New York Times—have already begun to carry it. The solicitation of orders is of the "if and when" sort. Meanwhile there has been pressing need of a decision about the legality of liquor advertising by mail in territory which will remain dry under state laws after the repeal of federal prohibition. The department of justice has asserted its readiness to give appropriate attention to any violations of the rulings of the post office department that might be reported by that department, and has given its own ruling that the Reed amendment of 1917, barring from the mails any liquor advertising addressed to dry territory, is still in force and will continue in force after the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. The post office department

has issued a statement embodying this opinion and declaring that it will be guided accordingly. "No letter, postal card, circular, newspaper, pamphlet or publication of any kind containing an advertisement of or a solicitation of orders for such liquors shall be admitted to the mails when directed to any address in any state where it is, by the law in force in the state, unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors." Newspapers and magazines have been gravely affected by the loss of advertising receipts during the lean years, and many of them have been looking forward hungrily to fat orders from the distillers. This decision is really a blow to them. If a magazine carrying liquor ads cannot be mailed into dry territory, it can scarcely be mailed at all, for there will be a lot of such territory even after January 1. A metropolitan paper might keep liquor ads out of its mail edition, but it would complicate matters; and weeklies and magazines would find it impossible to make any such straddle. Well, The Christian Century and a good many other papers have got along so far without the support of liquor ads, so perhaps the rest can do it.

Mr. Ford Will Obey But He Will Not Enlist

REFUSAL of the government to accept bids from dealers in Mr. Ford's well known cars, until and unless he signs the code and tacks the blue eagle on his plants, brings one feature of NRA enforcement to a point of specific tension if not an actual crisis. Mr. Ford, through an authorized spokesman, insists that "the signing of a code is not in the law and flying the blue eagle is not in the law," and that the company already "observes the law and exceeds it in all its real recovery features." The final phrase suggests a consciousness of weakness in his position. No law is satisfied by the observance of so much of it as each individual considers really important. Mr. Ford's ideas about what constitute the "real recovery features" of the national recovery act and of the specific arrangements which have been set up under it may not agree with those of the administration. They do as to wages and hours; they do not as to labor policy. The administration considers one part of a recovery program is the setting up of arrangements for collective bargaining between employers and employes, so that labor's theoretical freedom of contract will not be nullified by the disparity between the individual workman who must work today if he would eat tomorrow and the immense corporation which has financial reserves. Mr. Ford thinks the ideal arrangement is for the corporation to fix the wages, hours and conditions of labor, and for each workman to take it or leave it. He is not averse to high wages and short hours; one cannot forget how, years ago, he startled other employers by his five-dollars-a-day minimum for common labor. But he intends to run his shops to suit himself. The administration's recovery program includes the idea that industry must be organized on a basis different from that, and it wants not merely compliance with a schedule but also cooperation in a reorganization of industry. It demands obedience to the law and to the orders issued under it, but it appeals for enlistment in a campaign for the new order which is essential to recovery. Mr. Ford will obey, but he will not enlist. The boycott of his cars is a way of saying emphatically that the government will not do business with him unless he will cooperate with it. Suits already filed will determine whether that boycott is a legal weapon under the circumstances.

Who Speaks for The Press?

ACCOUNTS of the recent celebration at Mount Vernon, New York, of the two hundredth anniversary of the first successful defense of the freedom of the press in America make an interesting footnote to the issues discussed in last week's editorial, "Newspapers and the Code." Commemoration of the defeat inflicted on the colonial governor Cosby in his attempt to punish John Peter Zenger for publishing the facts about an election was seized upon by the publishers of potent American newspapers as a chance to make medicine against the imposing of a code on the press that would require it to operate under the same business standards as have been imposed on other industries. A committee that included such names as Adolph Ochs, William Randolph Hearst, Ogden Reid, Karl A. Bickel, Frank B. Noyes and John C. Martin sponsored this celebration, and the press of the entire nation reported it. The radio chains likewise gave it a national broadcast. But when this committee picked out those whom it desired to have speak to the country in the name of the press, whom did it choose? No others than our old friends Colonel Robert R. McCormick, of the Chicago Tribune, and Congressman James M. Beck, of Philadelphia. If it had combed the nation to find two more perfect Bourbons, two more bitter enemies of the whole philosophy and spirit of the NRA, it could not have had better success. Nor could it have more strikingly revealed to the public the sort of industrial ideals which, under cover of a hue and cry about freedom of the press, it is hoped to preserve in the newspaper-manufacturing business.

France Changes Governments

AN added sense of instability pervaded the tangled European situation last week after the French chamber of deputies had thrown the Daladier cabinet out of office. Once more a French government that had shown admirable restraint in dealing with foreign relations was wrecked on its inability to formulate an acceptable budget. Faced by an impending deficit of some half billion dollars, the Daladier cabinet had required the chamber to choose between a drastic cut in governmental outlays or an increase in taxation as the only methods available for reaching an approximate balance. And the chamber, as has happened so

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often before, refused to be impaled on either horn of that dilemma, apparently believing that a new cabinet might discover some sort of financial legerdemain that would stave off both forms of public sacrifice for at least another year. Whether it will do so, since the ministry of finance remains unchanged in the new cabinet, remains to be seen. But it is reassuring to find that, when forced to choose a new premier, the French have not been stampeded by the Hitler menace into a return to a right-wing nationalist government, but have turned to Senator Albert Sarraut. Sarraut may be said to continue the Briand tradition in French foreign policy, and can be expected to be as tactful in dealing with Germany as has been Daladier, to whose friendly spirit Hitler himself paid tribute. Nevertheless, the new French government must be regarded as exceedingly tentative. It confronts at least two major threats from the start. On the one hand, if the American and British gold policy forces France off gold and to a resumption of currency deflation, it is doubtful whether the government in power can survive. On the other, if the result of the German election next Sunday tempts Hitler into declaring his freedom from the treaty of Versailles and an intention of arming, it will be difficult to keep France from turning to some nationalist premier of the Tardieu type who may be expected to seek some form of military reassurance.

The New Deal Reaches Housing

ANOTHER milepost on the road which the administration is following to a new deal was passed on October 28 with the incorporation of a Public Works Emergency Housing corporation under the laws of Delaware. Almost no details of the financing of this new venture have been made public, aside from the unofficial admission that its initial capital will be "about $200,000,000," with prospects of an increase as the work of the corporation increases. But the announcement sent out from the office of Secretary Ickes contains sufficient material to indicate that the government is about to enter aggressively still another field which, in America, has hitherto been sacredly reserved for the rugged individualism of the real estate operator, the mortgage holder, and the beneficiary of unearned increment. In twenty cities low-priced slum areas will be bought, cleared, and on them will be built dwellings (never skyscrapers) in which the low income groups will find "housing at rentals which have never before been attained." The administration's announcement goes out of its way to affirm that "the housing thus provided will not be competitive with existing housing of good character," but this is nonsense. Of course such a scheme competes with the whole past profit-seeking plan by which housing has been provided. If it did not, it would have no excuse for being. And indeed the government admits as much when, in another part of the official announcement, it says: "Our experience of the last three months indicates clearly that we may not depend upon private enterprise or limited dividend corporations to initiate comprehensive low-cost housing and slum clearance projects." Here is a type of public works program which, from a social viewpoint, has been most urgently needed, and which the administration is to be most unreservedly commended for undertaking. But the significance of the fact that the government of the United States now begins "constructing, reconstructing, altering and repair of low-cost housing projects, apartment houses, homes and structures of every nature and kind," is not confined to the hope which it holds out of decent homes for the city's poor.

The South Knows Its Negroes

WHEN it was proposed to take the play, "The Green Pastures," into the south, after a run of three years in the cities of the north and west, it was considered a hazardous experiment. Even the producer doubted whether southern sensibilities would endure complacently the sight of a heaven of dusky angels and the representation of "de Lawd" in the guise and garb of a Negro preacher. But the south understood from the start what northern audiences had to learn with some difficulty and delay—that the play was not a comedy but a serious and devout interpretation of religion. A North Carolina paper said: "Southern audiences, if members of the cast do not already know it, take their religion, the religion of their Negroes, seriously, reverently. There was in the theater last night what one might term a holy silence." At Greensboro, N. C., where Mr. Harrison, the leading member of the cast, was formerly a teacher, the mayor and other city officials and leading citizens presented to him a testimonial expressing "appreciation to Richard B. Harrison for his outstanding contribution to the cause of education, for his understanding interpretation of Negro life and character on the stage and lecture platform, for his constructive influence in inspiring and preserving harmonious racial relationships, for his unfailing loyalty to his home city and the dignity which has always characterized his representations of Greensboro abroad, for his kindly personality and enduring friendship." The significance of this is twofold: that it is true, and that the southern people and press generally realize that it is true and are not unwilling to say so.

Arab Unrest in the Near East

THERE may have been no direct connection between the renewed Arab outbreaks in Palestine and the resignation of the Irak cabinet. But these simultaneous events are both indications of the Arab dissatisfaction with British policy in the near east. The Iraqi difficulty is not likely to eventuate at present in any action more spectacular than the calling of a cabinet more amenable to British influence, although such a public demonstration of the unreality of Britain's announced withdrawal from Arab politics will not be relished in London and Geneva. But the new riots in

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Palestine may possibly become very serious before they are finally repressed. The truth is that in Palestine Britain still has to reckon with the irreconcilable differences between the pledges given the Arabs and the Balfour note to the Jews. All the post-war attempts at interpretation, all the administrative procedures meant to show that the Arabs need fear no flood of Jewish immigration, fail to quiet the Arab forebodings so long as the Balfour pledge remains officially unrepudiated. Hence, announcement by the government that 5,500 Jewish immigrants would be accepted during the next six months, while protested against by the Jewish agency as inadequate, has proved sufficient to send the Arabs off into demonstrations leading to considerable bloodshed. For the Arabs see, in the situation in Germany, a threat that pressure will be applied to increase this immigration quota largely in the near future. All in all, the present dangerous state of affairs shows that almost no gain has been registered toward mitigating the bitterness between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine; that the Holy Land is being preserved from frightful bloodshed only by the presence of British bayonets, and that the British influence throughout the Arab world stands in greater danger today than at any time since the close of the war.

Church Finances and Common Stocks

SHOULD churches and other religious organizations which have trust funds use them for speculation in common stocks? And do they? If it is called speculation, the first question almost answers itself. It is an odious word. Many hardened Wall street operators do not like to be called speculators. Well, then, call it investment. Should churches invest trust funds in common stocks in the hope of profiting by a rising market? The last annual report of a religious organization with assets of several million shows a list of stocks which cost something over two million which now have a market value of more than three millions. There have been losses on some items, but the net gain has been considerably more than a million. The organization evidently had a shrewd financial adviser. A million in clear profit, pure velvet, is not to be despised in times like these when contributions for the Lord's work are so hard to get. Why not spoil the Egyptians? One consideration, of course, is that the spoilers are so often spoiled. The Egyptians also know a trick or two. A favorable balance for a limited period is no answer to the main question. What one wants to know is: (a) Is it right for an institution to subject its trust funds to the financial risk of this form of investment? and (b) Is it right for a religious organization to seek profits that way even if it feels pretty sure of getting them? In this particular case probably an important motive, perhaps the chief motive, was not profit in a rising market but regular income from the stocks. Most of them were very substantial issues, but some were not on a dividend basis and, it seems, must have been bought in the hope of stock-market profits. That point does not need to be determined, since there is no purpose of passing judgment here on this particular organization. It is cited merely for illustration. Churches, colleges and missionary societies need money. They are inevitably implicated in the economic system from which that money comes. Is it wise, and is it right, for them to carry that entanglement to the point of seeking profit either through cleverly anticipating the mercurial fluctuations of the market quotations of common stocks, by risking the chance of loss that always goes with the chance of gain, or even by investing for dividend returns?

Courage, Mr. President!

THE GOVERNMENT of the United States has undertaken an enterprise of such momentous character that to call it revolutionary is now generally regarded as no exaggeration. The revolution is economic: it consists in the displacement of an automatic capitalistic economy with a planned and controlled capitalistic economy. It is also political: it involves the open adoption of unprecedented functions by the state, for the state has taken upon itself the responsibility of doing the planning and controlling of the new economic system.

The state has always exercised certain fragmentary functions of economic control, for example, through tariffs and the regulation of interstate commerce; but the theory has always been that the economic system was self-contained and automatic, and the less government interfered with its processes the better. That theory continued down to the close of President Hoover's administration. It was abandoned in favor of a different theory the moment President Roosevelt came upon the scene. He at once secured from congress power to exercise regulatory functions in the economic system which had never been exercised in our political history.

The President proceeded to use his new power with vigor but with caution, beginning with the correction of certain flagrant evils such as child labor, sweated wages, long hours, methods of marketing securities, banking methods, insurance of bank deposits, limitation of farm acreage, and so forth. These reforms were not sufficient to revive business, and probably were not expected to be. They tapped no reservoir of supply or demand. Not all of them were of equal merit. Their importance lies in the fact that they establish certain new boundary lines within which competition must accept restraint when and if the stream of business begins to flow again.

It is this restraint of competition which is the sensitive matter. The competitive system has always operated within a wide latitude of freedom—freedom to pay the lowest possible wages, to buy at the lowest possible prices, to sell at the highest possible profit, in a free market that was equally open to all

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competitors and on their own terms. Its operations were private, its books were secret, its transactions were "nobody's business," its profits were sacred private property.

This system had been previously invaded by interstate commerce and anti-trust legislation, then by the income tax. Now Mr. Roosevelt has pushed the government invasion much farther by the codes of NRA and AAA. Competition does not like these restrictions. The profit motive does not at once act to start business going beause it is not clear that, under the new restrictions, there will be any profits. And there is no motive power in the competitive system except the profit motive. Business, under this system, does not operate for public welfare, or any other motive except private gain. Public welfare is nothing but a by-product of private gain, according to both the theory and practice of the competitive system.

The President does not—at least, not yet—propose any other motive power to make the economic system "go" except the motive of private profit. The great question which his new deal now faces is this: How much restraint can competition stand without paralyzing its motive power? Has he already paralyzed its motive power? Is it possible to keep competition except on a laissez faire basis? When laissez faire is once abandoned are we not then forced to abandon the competitive system itself? That is to say, are we not then forced to give up hope of getting business going by the dynamic of the profit motive, and to turn to a system whose dynamic is social necessity and the common welfare?

The new deal had reached the threshold of such questions when the President began his most recent radio speech. There was public uncertainty as to the direction in which his mind was likely to go. He could go back. He could relax certain restrictions, or lead the public not to take their enforcement too seriously; or he could peg the dollar to a fixed gold value and relieve uncertainty at that vital point, thus releasing the profit motive by putting competition on a comparatively calculable basis. Many believe that such concessions to competition would have met with instant response, that the wheels of industry would have started. But in what direction would they move? Obviously, back to the "rugged individualism"—modified by the President's few marginal reforms—which had eventuated in the misery of the depression.

Mr. Roosevelt did not take that course. He gave every evidence of a firm purpose to go forward. The codes must be taken seriously. They are voluntary, but they are also the law of the land. He proposed to enforce them—not truculently, nor impatiently, but vigorously. Instead of withdrawing the hand of government from business, he asserted his purpose to hold the control it had already taken, and to extend that control. Prices, especially of farm products, would be lifted, if not by the means now in operation then by other means. "Do it we will," he said. Any lingering hope that previous failure to start up competitive industry might now cause the President to fall back upon the pure competitive principle for salvation, was swept away by his words and the tone in which he spoke them.

But the full strength of the President's courage to go forward was registered in his announced monetary policy. In its effect upon the competitive system, his managed dollar is the most important policy the President has yet launched. He is willing that the dollar shall be attached to gold, but unwilling that it shall be at the mercy of gold. Therefore the government is now buying gold at a price above the market, and will continue to do so until the dollar has been deflated to perhaps the 1926 level in relation to commodity prices. When the "right" level is reached, he will peg it there, but not before. But he will not stop with merely pegging it. To do so would, at best, only start business on another speculative boom due to the fact that the pegged dollar would be at the mercy of the inevitably rising value of gold.

The President therefore announces that the buying and selling of gold will be a permanent government policy designed to hold gold and commodities in general at the pegged value of the dollar. The President expects to keep the dollar even with the price level of commodities starting at the time at which the dollar is pegged. Thus he projects a monetary policy which will provide a dollar whose value in terms of commodities will be the same from generation to generation, so that a debt contracted today would be paid with the same kind of a dollar when it falls due ten years hence.

We leave to the economists—and to events—to decide whether the President's plan will work out as he expects, particularly as to whether the present buying of gold will raise the price of commodities as well as the price of gold. Our present interest is not in the means which Mr. Roosevelt is using, or may hereafter use, but in the end he is working to achieve. That end is a flexible dollar so managed that its value in terms of commodities in general will be always the same. A managed dollar will affect competition and profit-making in a most important respect. Let us see if this is not so.

Manifestly, a managed dollar will limit competition by drastically curtailing the sphere of speculation. And speculation is the life of competition. The managed dollar is to be stabilized, ultimately, in a fixed relation not only to gold but to the general range of basic and typical commodities. If its value in terms of commodities is to remain the same for a generation, speculation, though still possible in the case of a single commodity, will no longer be possible as applied to the market as a whole, because the market as a whole will not fluctuate in terms of the dollar. But it is this fluctuation of the market as a whole that is the vital ozone of our competitive capitalistic system. This is how we get the great bulk of our "profits." Our "prosperity" is possible only on a rising total market. All prices are going up; therefore everybody wants to buy. Credit is easy; therefore everybody borrows to buy more, therefore every manufacturer borrows to produce more. Thus a vast debt structure is built up in a frenzy of speculative

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buying and speculative enlargement of productive capacity, until the whole economic structure crashes, as in 1929.

This is capitalism. This is competition. This is "prosperity." Mr. Roosevelt aims to make this kind of "prosperity" impossible, and his managed or commodity dollar is devised for that precise purpose.

Can we expect the profit motive to start and sustain business when competitive activity will thus have lost its main field of operation, namely, a rising total market? Can the competitive system stand such a curtailment of its field of operation? Perhaps it can. Mr. Roosevelt is proceeding on the theory that it can. He appears to believe that he can curtail competition and keep it too. It is good for the country that he so believes, for it enables him to explore the possibilities of socializing capitalism itself, whereas if he were a doctrinaire socialist he would have no patience with such experiments.

But the time is coming, and it may be sooner than any of us suspect, when Mr. Roosevelt will discover that business will not respond under the restrictions and curtailments which he is placing upon the competitive process. What then will Mr. Roosevelt do? Will he have the courage to go straight forward in the identical direction upon which he has so well started, or will he turn back? We believe he will have to go forward. To turn back to free competition offers no hope, and to undertake to do so would land the country in chaos and probably violent revolution.

If, within the narrower zone left by the new deal for profit-making, the business community does not find a sufficient motive power to resuscitate itself and produce the work and goods which public welfare demands, there will be left to the President but one option, namely, the taking over of business by the government itself and the operation of it for public welfare rather than for private profit.

Two great basic facts must be kept constantly in mind as we strive to understand what is happening in our economic life. One is that our distress is not due to any lack of goods—we have enough and to spare, and wherever there is lack we have an amplitude of power, both human and mechanical, to create a full supply. Our distress, in other words, does not arise from the economic realities of our situation, but from something else. The second fact is that this "something else" is the artificial system of producing goods for private profit, and distributing them for private profit, on the theory that the general welfare will be served as a by-product of this artificial system.

This artificial system, known as capitalism, or competition for private profit, has broken down. Its failure, and not the failure of the underlying economic realities, is the reason of our misery. Mr. Roosevelt is trying to mend and remodel this artificial system and to lighten it so that society can afford to carry it on. In doing so he is probing perilously near the most vital organ of the system, its very heart—the profit motive. He may succeed in curtailing the field in which the profit motive may operate, without depriving that motive of its vigor. If he does, he will make a contribution to human welfare and to scientific understanding of economic reality of incalculable importance.

But if he finds that his attempt to make capitalism humane and to make competition half-way ethical only results in the debilitation and disabling of the profit motive from which this artificial system derives its power, he must prepare himself to take the last decisive step and displace the competitive system by a system of social operation of economic processes for the welfare of society itself. This will require courage of the highest order. But if Mr. Roosevelt can guide the present experimentation so that the impotence of capitalism (if it shall prove to be impotent) is clearly demonstrated to all, he may be able to establish a socialized economic order without violence and without sacrifice of democratic ideals. If he can do this, he will stand in history among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

The President himself says, "We are on the way, and we are going in the right direction." Even his most caustic and cynical critics in effect admit that to be so by their failure to point out any other way in which we can go. And so his countrymen who follow his leadership earnestly pray that the courage which moved him to set foot in the new way and which has sustained his forward steps until now, may be equal to the final step if and when the hour of his supreme duty arrives.

The Entail of Hate

THE fifteenth Armistice day finds the sky of hope for world peace overcast with the heaviest clouds to arise since the guns were silenced in Flanders. Open warfare rages in the Gran Chaco; the military occupation of Manchuria is bringing Japan and Russia to the verge of hostilities; the past twelve months have seen the withdrawal from the League of Nations of Japan and Germany, and the near-collapse of the disarmament conference. Many competent observers agree that Europe is nearer to war today than at any time since the armistice was signed. It is not hard to gather convincing evidence that the problems which confront that unhappy continent are more dangerous, less capable of solution, than those which confronted the chancelleries in 1914.

Few thoughtful persons will approach the coming international memorial day without asking, probably with a new bitterness and sense of despair, Did they die in vain? Was all that sacrifice of life useless? Are the hopes that the victims in the trenches saw flickering dimly above the battle-smoke, of a world from which war had been cast out because justice had been enthroned, forever betrayed? Lawrence Stallings, who lay in hospital for months after his return from service with the marines in France, has recently published a volume of tremendously moving war pictures to which he has given the disillusioned title, "The First World War." Has this Armistice day no mes-

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sage for the generation that has grown since the Hindenburg line was broken save that they, too, must now prepare to die?

Men will be forced to ask themselves such questions even when they are most aware that the return of world war would mean swift and sure destruction to civilization. It is not yet proved that civilization will survive the last orgy of destruction; it is certain that a relapse into general slaughter will send at least the western world crashing into chaos. For that reason, those who view the tragic realities of the present most realistically will find themselves, this Armistice day, most determined that there shall be no giving up of the effort to secure peace. Their very sense of impending disaster will nerve them to new effort to ward off that disaster. They will find in the quickening of national apprehensions a new hope that the governments may be induced to take unprecedented steps to save themselves from destruction.

If this determination to renew the struggle for peace, not only despite the gathering menace but because of it, is to be intelligently applied to the world's condition, there may be value at this Armistice day period in looking back over the past fifteen years in an effort to discover why it is that the high hopes of 1918 have been so flouted. It cannot be because there has been no interest in peace; never in man's history have so many devoted people and so many disinterested organizations been working to head off war. It cannot be because there have been no efforts to organize peace; whatever their shortcomings, the series of international agreements that began with the signing of the covenant of the league and continued, through a long series of multilateral and bilateral agreements, down to the establishment of the pact of Paris, represent the most extensive network of instruments of accord ever to be conceived and executed by the nations. What, then, has been the trouble? Why, with all this being done to bring peace, does the return of this Armistice day find the world apparently slipping toward war?

Many and diverse elements must go into any complete answer. But beneath them all, careful observation of the experiences of these post-war years will show that there have been three major factors operating to thwart the effort toward peace. The first of these factors has been the absence of responsible governments from the areas of international friction. The second has been the failure to come to grips with the profit-seeking and war-fomenting drive of the capitalistic order. The third has been the undiminished entail of hatred in the hearts of the victims of the war.

Any careful consideration of the peace-building and peace-protecting instruments which the diplomacy of the post-war period has brought into existence, beginning with the covenant and coming down to the outlawry of war under the Kellogg pact, will show that every one of them rests on an assumption. That assumption is the presence in all areas of conflicting interest of effectively functioning governments. That assumption is inherent in legal documents. "The high contracting parties" must assume that they have the ability not only to make but to keep their contracts. Yet the experience of these fifteen years indicates that peace is most likely to be threatened in precisely those areas where the assumption of effective governments is least justified.

Examine both the situations to which attention is immediately directed when the comparative failure of our peace machinery is discussed. What was the political status of Manchuria? At the time of the launching of the Japanese military occupation The Christian Century referred to the region as "an international no man's land," and that phrase probably describes the actualities as well as any that could be employed. The local viceroy had, as recently as 1924, made independent treaties with foreign states; the raising of the Chinese flag at Mukden in 1928 had actually been hailed as an event of great moment, and has been pointed out since then as one of the causes contributing to the launching of the Japanese drive a year later. But there was not only this pervasive fog over the status of Manchuria; it is now known that neither Japan nor China possessed a genuinely responsible government. The helplessness of the civilian officials of Nanking in the hands of China's irresponsible war lords was proved to be no more real than the helplessness of the Tokyo cabinet in the hands of the Japanese militarists. To say this is not, of course, to lift from Japan the stain of having broken her plighted word. But it will help to make the problem clear if it is seen that the "high contracting parties" in Tokyo who gave Japan's pledges had no power to see that those pledges were kept.

In South America, the Gran Chaco is just such another international no man's land. Here again, there is the spectacle of two shaky governments, and a region of potential economic importance but little present orderly government. And while the threat to peace implicit in the emergence of nazi Germany—if threat it is—is of a different sort, it again involves recognition of the fact that the government in power is the avowed enemy of the "high contracting parties" who, in Germany's name, have assumed the obligations of these varied peace commitments.

It is perhaps worth pointing out in this connection that the proponents of the outlawry of war were more realistic than others in dealing with this issue. A perusal of the literature which appeared during the years while the outlawry movement was taking form will show that its advocates desired a cultivation of the popular mind in all the nations that would make the enactment of outlawry in a legal document, when it came, a genuine expression of the popular will, and thus give substance to the claim that the governments concerned could, and would, make good their pledges. This desire carried over, faintly, into the formulation of the Kellogg pact, whose preamble declares that it has been formulated by the chiefs of state "in the name of their respective peoples." But it must be admitted that the pact, when it came, came too swiftly for these words to have had the content they needed. If the day comes when the pledge of the pact repre-

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sents the actual will of the peoples, difficulties as to its application will be largely done away.

So long as the world is dotted with these international no man's lands, so long as governments exist which are more facade than fact, the problem of insuring peace through the enactment of treaties, covenants, pacts or other forms of international law will persist.

A second fact which the experience of these fifteen years proves has been insufficiently taken into account is the drive toward conflict implicit in the trade rivalries of competing capitalistic states. So important is this factor that it can only be named here; an adequate treatment must be left for another occasion on which more space is available. But surely it must be by now apparent that so long as the lust for profits drives nations into commercial battle, their trade strategies "protected" by all the resources of armies, navies and governmental power, international life will be pervaded by that unceasing tension, that trigger-finger itch which needs only the slightest excuse to precipitate catastrophe.

The other factor which has played so large a part in holding back the efforts to build world peace is a spiritual factor, and as such should be of particular importance to the churches at this Armistice day season. It is the entail of hate which lives on in the hearts of those who have been the victims of past war. This is the final, the unchallengeable proof of the folly of war, and its uselessness. For this deposit of hate, this desire for revenge, smouldering in hearts where no treaty, no pact can penetrate, is the thing that does most to make future slaughter probable.

Here is the field in which only those agencies which claim to deal with character can function. And when one sees the extent to which chauvinism still finds expression in school textbooks, on the screen, and in the press, one wonders what chance the only important remaining agency—the church—has of exorcising this demon of hate. For unless this demon is cast out, unless this entail against good will is broken, the ensuing degeneration of the human spirit will presently engulf mankind in the ruin of war.

It is easier to see and say this than it is to discover how the entail of hate is to be done away. A complete victory over this poisoner of the relations between nations of course waits on the elimination of injustice and the desire for revenge from the relations of those states. But here we have to do with a vicious circle, in which the hatred that rankles in the hearts of individual victims finds expression in national policy. So that, if the circle is to be broken, there is as much responsibility resting upon religion to break it in the souls of individuals now closed to the appeal of forgiveness and love as there is upon statecraft to break it by the application to treaties of principles of justice and generosity.

This is no easy gospel. It is as truly "foolishness" today as nineteen hundred years ago; perhaps more so. But it is the only gospel which has in it power to save men, their reasons twisted by the lust for revenge, from plunging again into the hell of war.

At this Armistice day season let the question be asked honestly, Are the churches doing this? Are they calling on those to whose ears they have access to give up hate, to cease nurturing the desire for revenge, to see the people in other nations who have done them wrong as equal victims with themselves of an outworn and unrighteous political order that must be done away? Is the sermon on the mount back at the center of Christian preaching?

Obviously it is not in such a country as Germany. There a state which has made the barbaric sadism of the Horst Wessel hymn its rallying cry finds in the church an instrument for the systematic cultivation of the hatreds on which it hopes to build power. But the temptation to fix attention on the preaching of national and racial hatred in the German church, powerful as it is, must not be allowed to blind us to the amount of temporizing with this evil which the churches permit in other countries. The apostasy of the German church from the sermon on the mount is, at this moment, conspicuous. But what church, in looking back over the past fifteen years, can clear its conscience of a similar apostasy?

As Armistice day returns, therefore, the Christian churches must again dedicate themselves to their task in building a world of peace. They must hold before the state the demand that security be achieved through the enactment of just and generous instruments of international accord. But in those intimate and searching ministries with the souls of men who kneel at the altar, the churches must show that all, without regard to boundaries, are members of a common humanity, who have been made the victims of a common deception, participated in a common sin, and are on the way to a common fate. And out of the sense of spiritual solidarity thus engendered it may be possible to do away with this entail of hate which, as long as it persists, will make the best efforts of statesmen and parliaments of no avail.

For This Only

FOR this have we built cities
And dreamed empire;
Chronicled saints and legends of sacrifice;
Fashioned steel, channeled the free lightning;
Cried justice over the blood of pure men—
For this only:
That children may know grace and laughter,
Youth its hope;
That old age, crowned with peace,
May smile,
Calling the sunlight good.

CARL EDWIN BURKLUND

Reveille of Peace

RED Caesar, take your banners down;
Saint Francis, lead us on.
In every city street and town
We hail your whiter dawn!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK

After Liberalism—What?

By John C. Bennett

THE most important fact about contemporary American theology is the disintegration of liberalism. Disintegration may seem too strong a word, but I am using it quite literally. It means that as a structure with a high degree of unity theological liberalism is coming to pieces. The liberal preacher has had a coherent pattern of theological assumptions in the background of his message. He has often had the kind of self-confidence which goes with the preaching of an orthodoxy, for liberalism has been a new orthodoxy in many circles. It is that coherent pattern of assumptions, that self-confidence, which are going. Now many of us are left with a feeling of theological homelessness.

In this article I am going to attempt to distinguish between the elements of liberalism which we must not lose in the present stampede, and those points at which it may well need correction. A discriminating treatment of liberalism is in order in view of the rather reckless attacks which have recently been made upon it by many who in large areas of their thought are still liberals. Whatever the new theology may be which is to take the place of liberalism, of one thing I am sure: it will not be any of the other systems of theology which now have names.

What Is Liberalism?

Before going further it will be necessary to stop and suggest briefly what I mean when I use the word liberalism. Running through its whole theology there has been the assumption of continuity in the world—continuity between revelation and natural religion, between Christianity and other religions, between the saved and the lost, between Christ and other men, between man and God.

It is some confirmation of this description of liberal thought that its European critics repeat as a kind of incantation the words of Kierkegaard about "the absolute qualitative difference between time and eternity." They also make great use of the word "discontinuity." The premise of liberalism is faith in man and his highest values as the clue to the nature of God. This faith in man makes possible confidence in human reason and insight as the basis of authority in religion. It makes possible the emphasis upon the immanence of God. It makes possible the identification of the divinity of Christ with his ideal humanity. It makes possible the optimistic faith in progress which is now under such a cloud. It makes possible the attitude toward other religions which we find in the early chapters of the Laymen's report. I think that the best short-cut to an understanding of the present theological situation is to realize that liberalism diverges from orthodoxy and neo-orthodoxy in its various forms in its doctrine of man, and that other differences follow from that.

I shall now proceed to an analysis of liberalism and to suggest some of its permanent contributions and the corrections and additions which seem most justified in view of the work of its critics.

1. In the first place we must recognize that liberalism has been a cleansing force in Christian history. It has overcome much that our age rightly counts as incredible. It has removed a great deal of excess baggage, especially all that went with biblical literalism. It has taken the emphasis off doctrine and ecclesiasticism and put it on those things which are most essential for the Christian life. It has carried very far the moral criticism of doctrine which was the strength of many earlier forms of theology such as Arminianism. So, today there are few Christian groups which hold a doctrine of God which offends the moral sense. Who now stresses eternal punishment or double predestination?

The liberal emphasis on the historical Jesus has provided the norm for the criticism and simplification of the Christian tradition. That all this has gone along with a thin and over-pragmatic interpretation of Christianity is true enough. Not only has doctrine been leveled down to experience but also experience has been leveled down to the experience of the healthy extravert American of the privileged class in days of prosperity. But that is a perversion of liberalism which can be corrected, and it doesn't alter the fact that there has been a wholesome simplification of Christianity as a result of the liberal criticism of tradition.

Individual Insight

2. A second element in liberalism which in our haste we must not drop is a very clear realization that there is a sense in which the ultimate authority in religion must rest with the insight of the individual. Of course in another sense the ultimate authority is God or Truth itself, but our human problem is the problem of how we are to know what the truth is and so that first sense in which I speak of ultimate authority is of great importance. It is also true that the insight of the individual doesn't develop in a vacuum, but comes from constant response to the convictions of others, to the Bible and the church and all the materials which form the external authorities of Christians. But in the last analysis the mature Christian must choose the materials to which he will respond most freely, and he can believe nothing which he does not see to be true for himself. Any attempt to override the insight of the individual by appealing to obedience to any external authority leads to unreality in religion, breaks up the unity of the personality, and destroys the right relation to God as the God of truth.

3. A third contribution of liberalism is its emphasis upon the Jesus of history. A great deal of con-

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fusion comes into theology from the appeal which many are making from the Jesus of history to the Eternal Word or the Christ of faith without any clear conception of the relation between them. Frequently it is the result of the desire to get away from everything human and relative in thinking of God. But we have here a flat contradiction of the Christian belief in the incarnation usually in the name of a reassertion of it. It is only in the human life of Jesus, in his personality and his teaching that the word is revealed to men in its fulness.

The incarnation, if it gives us any content for our understanding of God, is in fact a guarantee of the continuity between our highest humanity and the divine. Instead of allowing our disgust with our own human nature and with average human nature to make us draw our line between the human and the divine on the other side of everything human and confuse sin with finiteness or relativity, it is much sounder to recognize with great emphasis real moral distinctions among men and to give full weight to the values which are present in humanity as our clue to those aspects of God which are most important for our lives. Jesus becomes in this way not an isolated figure, but still the highest revelation of God. We can grant all that may be said about the cosmic significance of Christ or about the contemporary Christ, but what we learn about the cosmos from Christ comes centrally from the Jesus of history and what we recognize as the contemporary Christ we must judge by its congruence with the Jesus of history as the norm.

Jesus of History

Liberals may have distorted the portrait of Jesus. But the reaction against the historical Jesus is sure to have worse results in the long run. There are limits to the extent to which we can make Jesus in our own image so long as we stress the Jesus of history, but what limits are there to the use of a vague Christ to justify our purposes?

4. A final element in liberalism which we must not abandon is its assumption of the continuity of the Christian revelation with reason or with natural religion. In this respect liberalism is in the succession of the great Christian Platonists and most of the schoolmen. And it is at this point that the attack from the Barthian theologians seems to me to be most unsound. Revelation which is purely arbitrary, which is beyond rational defense, which has nothing to do with the experiences of God which come to men in mere religion or in secular idealism is itself a precarious foundation for faith and it excludes too many of us from any approach to faith which is possible for us.

Many of us have to begin where we are and go from the near to the more remote, from the more obviously certain to the less obviously certain. We are led gradually by the experiences of common life to an experience of God, and all along the way the path is made plainer for our feet by the use of reason. Reason can clear away many obstacles to faith. It can build up an argument for the validity of the Christian faith in God which confirms and clarifies experience. I know of no one who has carried out this task of thought more helpfully than F. R. Tennant in the second volume of his "Philosophical Theology." The roots of faith are many and various, and I can't believe that any theology is the sounder for beginning its task by cutting away all but one.

On the other side there are at least four emphases which we would do well to incorporate into our theology from the movements of thought which are at present directed against liberalism. As I write of them I don't mean to imply that each one of these emphases has not been characteristic to some degree of many liberals.

Human Nature

1. The first is a more realistic view of human nature. The fact that many of us have been entertaining a sentimental and unrealistic view of man has been brought home by the stubbornness of social evil more than by a sense of personal sin, though the two can never be separated. The great contribution of Reinhold Niebuhr's much criticized book, "Moral Man and Immoral Society," is that it challenges in an inescapable way our illusions about men in society. It is one of those books which puts one point so well that the reader who is openminded enough to learn from it without being sidetracked by what he doesn't like in the book is forced to qualify his previous thinking on the subject. Niebuhr is also important because through him more effectively than through any one else the European criticism of liberalism is being mediated to American Christianity, and the dose is mild enough to be taken without too much risk of complications. Though Niebuhr shows how men in groups, as nations or classes, are more immoral than they are as individuals, how even such virtues as loyalty are transmuted into vices by group relationships, he makes no sharp distinction between the moral capacities of groups and individuals. The evils of collective behavior are rooted in part in the natural egoism of individuals. There is here a close approximation to the traditional emphasis upon sin.

Complacency Gone

But we should be careful not to fall back uncritically upon traditional modes of thought. The evil which man brings into the world is a combination of deliberate egoism, lack of imagination, provincialism, honest but narrow loyalties, inadequate social theory —all these things and more plus the sheer complexity of the problems with which he has to deal. For some purposes it may be desirable to lump these all together under the word sin. It may create a decent sense of humility. But for purposes of cure that is not a fruitful approach because every one of those elements in this complex evil must be dealt with in its own way.

So, in a discriminating way we can go back to a more traditional view of human nature. We should

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be careful not to assume that even the greater part of human evil can be removed by the inner change of individuals alone, and so we should talk less than our fathers about sin in the abstract and we should avoid the barren identification of evil with human finitude which ignores real moral differences between men who are all finite. On the other hand, the tragic consequences of that complex evil into which the egoism of our hearts has gone will bring home to us with new force our own personal sin. The realization that the human race has no such glorious future as we had dreamed but that with our best efforts streaked with compromises we are in for centuries of blundering and sin, with catastrophe never far away, does something to our spirits. We may still believe that we can get results and that some results preserve more values than others, even though the ideal society may still be out of sight. But we will lose what complacency we have. We will never again be even tempted to substitute humanity for God. We will look elsewhere than to enthusiasm for a social goal for our dynamic. We will be forced by our experience to find a deeper basis for living in faith in a God who transcends history. From the results of natural theology we may learn that such a faith is not a mere projection of our desires.

Man and God

2. A second emphasis is suggested by what I have just said. It is the realization that the mean of life cannot be found in the historical process alone but must be found in the relation of man at every stage to an eternal transcendent God. It is not that liberalism in any responsible form has denied belief in a transcendent God, but we are thinking here of a matter of emphasis. God may not be the Absolute. He is no static perfection. He may be limited in quite definite ways. But he is central and he is really active, and he is in no sense another name for the process itself. Much has been written of late contrasting liberalism, as the religion of human search, with true Christianity, which is the religion of God's self-revelation to man. The contrast is overdone because there must be searching to put us in the place where we can recognize God's revelation. But doubtless here too we have to do with a difference of emphasis and the truer view will put more emphasis upon humility of spirit and receptivity and less upon what so easily becomes self-important striving.

Or to put the matter in another way. If there is a God at all he is not one reality among others which we discover after years of searching, but he is the all important reality upon which we depend at every moment of our lives and to which all the good in us is a response. And yet, when we have said that, we still must search to discover the nature of that reality even though we accept its existence as the surest fact with which we start. And even though we believe that God reveals himself to us, we never escape the necessity of discovering the place where that revelation shines most clearly in a world which as a whole makes an ambiguous impression on us, an impression both of intelligent love and of unconscious power.

Marx and the Prophets

3. A third emphasis comes to us from those who have found in Karl Marx a word which brings out clearly elements which have always been present in the Christian idea of God and especially the God of the prophets. The insight of which I am speaking is this: that in the real world we have to do with an inexorable process which makes an unjust economic system destroy itself. There are definite limits to human evil. When it has gone far enough it comes up against obstacles which make it necessary for men to change their ways. We see that an economic system which doesn't distribute purchasing power among all the classes with a degree of justice simply gets stalled. The pursuit of profits when it becomes too greedy destroys the source of the profits. One need not read Marx to understand that truth. It is embodied in the Industrial Recovery act, and perhaps it will be hammered into the heads of the American people in time to prevent greater catastrophe. That structure of things which eliminates ways of living when they become too evil is one of the ways in which God works in history. To recognize this principle is to get a grim substitute for the optimistic faith in progress. But the fact that such an inexorable process is at work means that there is a rough correspondence between ideals and enlightened self-interest. There is at least a fair chance that such a combination can batter down the worst obstacles to progress, though it will destroy much of the good with the evil.

The Christian Tradition

4. A final emphasis which will come as a result of the others and as a result of the breaking up of the secular world into competing passionate movements is the rediscovery of Christianity as an historic and worldwide movement and as a tradition which completes and confirms our own faith. The sense of belonging to a movement which has maintained so high a level of religious insight and intellectual achievement steadies one in the flux of current thought even though one may not yield to it as an external authority.

The recognition of the truth in the traditional view of human nature, which, as I have said, was the point at which liberals have departed from the main line of orthodoxy, helps us to find a point of contact with the Christian thought of the centuries. When a Protestant discovers the middle ages after an education in which it has been taken for granted that nothing very important happened during that period he realizes how continuously rich the Christian tradition has been and he finds much broader common ground with contemporary Catholicism. Not only does the Christian church become the guardian of a great tradition; also it stands out as the living movement which binds together the peoples of the west which are separated by the high wall of passionate nationalism. There arises the earnest hope that this Christian movement

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with all its divisions and its compromising alliances with states and privileged classes may yet say a decisive word to the spiritual confusion of the world and can moderate the possessiveness of the owning groups and check the fatal drift toward war.

Is this merely to take refuge in a romantic view of the Christian movement because everything else has seemed to fail? It may be so. But there are two grounds for such a hope. The first is the fact that science is losing confidence in itself as the source of a total world view. At the same time there has been a disintegration of what we might call skeptical secularism. At present the world is even too credulous, ready to accept whole systems of thought and life like communism and the various forms of fascism which promise deliverance. The second fact is the remarkable growth of the social conscience of both the Protestant and Catholic churches. The first of these facts removes obstacles to the acceptance of the Christian faith and even creates a void which must be filled. The second means that the Christian faith may be relevant to the needs of our civilization.

Old King Coal

By Harold P. Marley

ONLY a century ago coal was a dauphin, born to meet the growing needs of an industrial age. Within a short time, together with his coregent iron, he became a monarch capable of converting a world which had Malthusian jitters about overpopulation and vague stirrings of democracy into an empire of steel and promised plenty where families increased with the same abandon that they threw away their hunger for human rights. Coal was the new king, whether he ruled in the little principality of a coal camp or on a national basis where freight and wage differentials were his viceroys. Even internationally, he held imperialistic sway in the scramble for naval coaling stations and the control of mines and markets therefor. So long has coal been king that he was the last to bend his head to the superauthority of the NRA. As in all kingdoms of glittering gold, coal has its shine—a luster caught even by the carbide lamplight of the miner, informing him what to load and what not to load into his car.

As one bumps along through miles of darkness in cars drawn by a squat mine locomotive, one wonders about this black gold for which men have given their limbs and lives, just as they have for yellow nuggets. To see prehistoric markings in the ominous slate roof all too close to one's head induces a perspective on the divine right of the rule of coal. First appeared prospectors, searching for the choice deposits; then speculators getting legal rights away from uninformed hill folk; then a company to open the black vein and bleed the earth—the warfare of man against the geologic strata; and finally, the strife within the ranks.

The Specter of Want

But back of it all are the people, those who suffer the king to rule, and who want the things which coal and coal alone can bring—warm houses and the host of conveniences within this warmth to induce merriment and make one share, with Mother Goose's King Cole, a pipe, a bowl and fiddlers three. As in all monarchies, the kingdom of coal has problems which become more and more acute as the need of the people becomes more pronounced. So long as the masses are happy and contented, the king may continue to enjoy his pipe and bowl, but if the specter of want arrives and if the king persists in listening to his fiddlers, he may expect to end up as did a famous Roman emperor who liked to fiddle.

Effects of the Depression

Curiously, the war which was fought to bring democracy brought to the coal kingdom its greatest authority. Coal was not only king in the mining regions, but it ruled factories, darkened cities, and was as close to the trenches as the mines of the Saar valley, the coveted prize flooded by the Germans. The war caused countless new mines to be opened, recruited new miners and placed upon their backs silk shirts purchased from bulging pay envelopes. By 1924, when the empire reached its maximum expansion, ninety-three hundred bituminous mines employed over seven hundred thousand miners. But the coal digger (and this explains the beginning of the decay of the kingdom) worked only 179 days a year, whereas he previously worked 249 days.

Idleness and insufficient goods upon which to live have caused other kingdoms to fall, and coal has joined the procession, first in Wales, then here. Technological improvements in steam production from coal, and the substitution of gas, oil and white coal—water power— caused the nations to go off the black gold standard, and old king coal has fled his kingdom no less than the Romanoffs and Hohenzollerns. With coal consumption doubling every decade from the civil war to 1910, one can see just how high a throne had been erected and how hard was the fall therefrom. Like the wild peoples who descended upon the Roman empire from the north, the rushing waters of canyon after canyon have been harnessed, and with the legions of voltage thus created the doddering old man on the throne has been electrocuted.

Bringing order out of the chaos of the disintegrated empire, and rehabilitating multitudes of miners who will never mine another ton of coal is going to

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take time. Just as a bygone geological period naively stored up coal without knowing the consequences of the act, so bygone generations of coal operators and miners have sown to the wind, not suspecting that the whirlwind would result. The geologic era thoughtlessly made some seams of coal so low (thin) that men can get out the black treasure only on their knees or even while lying on one side. In other instances faults, or horsebacks, impinge themselves into the coal stratum so that the miner is suddenly confronted with a wall of slate. These problems of nature, however, are overcome by mine engineering, wherever the coal may lie or whatever its impurity.

Social Perplexities

The issues of a social nature inherited from the past are less easily solved. Inferior houses in company-owned towns miles from a chain store, added to the traditional suspicion of the frontier which still obtains in the isolated valleys of coal-bearing mountains, are things which a coal code cannot dispel overnight. Nature, who gets the credit for concocting coal in the first place, also gets the blame for hiding it away in such inaccessible places. But nature cannot be accused of sowing the seeds of social contention in the competitive struggle to get out as much coal as possible and sell it for as great profit as possible through the intervention of railroads which charge monopolistic rates for their obligatory function. One could blame human nature, but if he did he would only be taking refuge in a term.

Socially, the man who owns stock in the United States Steel corporation has allowed himself to be removed as far from the miner who produces coal for the captive mine of his company as, botanically, the fossil tree in the slate roof is from the mine timbers which support it. The rhododendron planted in the front yard of a Cleveland coal shipping official is no indication that he has ever been in the Kentucky mountains to investigate conditions among his distant wards. Land companies, which control often as much as fifty or a hundred thousand acres of coal producing land, are the liege lords of the coal manorial system, and to them other companies who mine the coal pay royalties. Thus, it is clear that the coal monarchy followed the regular course of empire in that some strong centralized authority which was in a position to get action demanded ownership as the price of this action.

Democracy in Coal

If democracy is to be set up in the realm of coal, there is little doubt that the huge land-holding companies will have to get out of the picture and the coal rights go back to small companies whose stock is owned preferably by only those who live in gunshot of the tipple. If coal were produced on the basis of community ownership and operation—and it could be, with half the government assistance which was given to banks—one of the most fertile causes of contention would be removed. Trade unions versus company unions, strikes versus strike-breaking and many other "horsebacks" in the social stratum would evaporate before the norm of community interest. The government would serve as a stabilizer of employment and income just as it is doing today under the old order, which even the operator, according to Sydney A. Hale, editor of Coal Age, is glad to see come to pass. It might also be forced to take over the railroads in order to forestall excessive hauling rates which now amount to as much as three to five hundred per cent of what coal costs at the mouth of the mine. When the railway brotherhoods essayed to go into the coal mining business they failed because their philosophy was the same as that of any coal operator and they were just as far away from the tipple as any absentee stockholder.

But if those who have mined coal all their lives are enabled to secure the right to bring coal to the surface as a community project, it is certain they may be depended upon to do it in moderate amounts, effectively and with a minimum of mortality. Men and their grown sons who have learned the art of mining or some trade which goes with it are not anxious to give it up, certainly not for the work-relief on the roads which so many have been forced to do. One who has been subject to old king coal, perhaps even to the extent of the sacrifice of an arm, like a minute man of old is ever in readiness to ignite the gas of his lamp and plunge into the conquest of the earth. If the enemy has left him but one arm he becomes a dispatcher or a safety expert who searches the mine for gas pockets.

Uplift of the Miner

One further conquest is necessary. Not only must coal be deposed, but the miner must be uplifted. If he is still subjected to the vagaries of this black substance which represents the bone and sinews of a bygone generation, he is yet far from being happy. If the personality of the coal digger is to be elevated to kingship, the community must be established on the basis of diversified interest and occupation. Such interests as gardening, berry-picking and milk-producing can lose their individualism and the folk shut up in the hollow of the valley's hand will increasingly find soul-enrichment through producing, marketing and selling cooperatively. Little villages often made pleasant because of the flowers around the doorstep, where community responsibility merely means carrying a complaint to the boss, will become places of intimate human intercourse where democracy will indeed have a chance to try its wings. What the government is today seeking to do through its subsistence homesteads and what such social service groups as the Quakers are doing, merely represents what the new day in bituminous coal is going to be.

Coal represents that industrial life which is farther back toward the feudal state, but it has in it also the seeds of complete reorganization just because of its disorganized condition. It is a pathetic sight to see a man who has mined twenty tons of coal during the

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day come home at night and glean a few lumps from a coal dump in order to keep the kitchen stove going and in turn fill up his supper bowl. It is also an omen of a new day for one of America's basic industries—an industry which must renounce its throne for the council chambers of democracy.

Are Church Women Exploited?

By Georgiana Merrill Root

THE CHURCH woman's group is an artless and altruistic group. It has a naive singleness of purpose, an unselfish loyalty to the good of the church that shuns neither hard work nor disagreeable tasks. If church repairs are needed, if the music needs funds, if the parsonage is to be renovated, the aid of this group is sought. Nor do their good deeds stop here. They feel the needs of the poor and sick and sinful in the community as men never do. And far beyond the community their gifts go to the uttermost parts of the earth. For all these projects money is needed, but never have they known a time when money has been so scarce or so hard to raise. Those who have given generously have little to give now. Those who have patronized fairs and suppers and entertainments can do so no longer. The women are at their wits' end to know what to do.

This is just the opportunity for the exploiter and he rises up on every side. He is not artless and altruistic. He is a shrewd business promoter, and he is out for the support of his business. His question is, Where can I find the largest group to push my project, and the group that needs money most? This group is not hard to find. Every church has its woman's society. There are millions of women here, and their great solicitude is how to get money for their work.

Tormenting Local Business Men

To their joy along comes an entertainer with a novel plan. She offers the women of a church $25 as an initial gift, also the proceeds of an entertainment which she will provide, and tickets for the same which they can sell at their own price. All she asks for herself is the opportunity to canvass the community for advertisements which she gets *in the name of the church,* and presumably for its benefit. Not to offend anyone she promises not to go to any business concerns with which men in that church are connected. But if a neighboring church tries the same plan these men, so fortunate in escaping the first time, do not escape this time. Nobody knows how much she realizes from the advertisements but it can be no small sum as it enables her to give $25 in addition to the money she pays her performers. In the end the church may reap $60 but it also reaps an unsavory reputation among the advertisers who consider such a request as one man said "a holdup," because it did him no good, but it made him feel a contempt for the church that resorted to such methods.

Chain stores that want the patronage and good will of the women have worked out a plan which has become very popular. They offer an afternoon outing, sending busses to bring the group to their headquarters. A guide conducts the party over the plant, showing them all points of interest, and at the close of the trip each woman is presented with a package of groceries. Such courtesy and generosity naturally beget gratitude and make it seem imperative to register as requested when she leaves the building. One woman thinks she would like to see what she is signing and finds that it is a petition to the legislature to exempt the chain stores from taxes. It happens that her husband is a seller to an independent store that pays $150 taxes and she thinks that it may not be best to sign away her husband's job, which may occur if the chain store's lease of life is protected, while the independent store is forced out of existence. A thought begins to creep in as to whether the pleasant afternoon has not been rather in the interest of the store than of the guests.

Silk Stockings and Salvation

The silk stocking manufacturers join the procession. They send salesmen to visit the churches. Stockings are displayed and all their beauties and good points explained. All women must wear stockings, and they want those that will look well and wear well. One feels sorry for the young salesman who is so earnest because his own living depends on his success in selling his proposition. And at the same time one feels humiliated to be considering such a commercial deal in such a place. One wonders whether Christ would drive out the sellers of stockings as he did the traders from the temple?

The baking concerns do not bring their wares to the church: they bring the women to their great bakeries. The management allows an organization to sell tickets at their own price to as many as they can, giving the party a lecture on their products, a trip over the bakery, a luncheon at the close of the trip, and a fresh baked article as a parting gift. The party has realized a few dollars, and had a pleasant evening, and in gratitude patronizes that bakery to some extent. Was the bakery thinking about the church or about its own business?

Very recently the "church melting pot" has come to the front. Church members bring their old gold and silver as did the Israelites of old, with ceremonies designed to be religious and yet with a commercial aspect that was not found in the sacrificial giving of old.

And last, but by no means least comes a great incorporated "plan" by the terms of which the church

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women sign a contract for three years to become purchasers and advertisers of nationally known goods. A two per cent profit on all sales goes to the church. Every thing possible has been done to make this "plan" seem churchly so that its members can enter into it wholeheartedly. The lists of goods are called "church loyalty purchase lists," and the women advertising these lists are called "good news broadcasters." Also knowing today how churches are emphasizing "social justice" phrases are introduced which make the churches feel that in accepting this plan they are upholding the principles of the social gospel. It is strange but true that pastors are yielding to the temptation of this offer. One pastor is reported as saying that his women, on bended knees, are praying that this plan may go through. And another communion is offering prizes to school children for evidences of the largest sales.

The Frantic Drive for Money

These are by no means all the schemes that are seeking aid from church women. Perhaps there never was a time when churches were so tempted to forget their function and yield to commercialism. Pastors are yielding to the pressure, as well as the women. I was present at a woman's meeting and heard a pastor plead with his women to round up their whole quota for a visit to a carpet-cleaning establishment where a certain sum would be given to each woman attending. Had he been pleading for recruits for the legitimate work of the church he could not have been more earnest.

How much different is present day commercialization of the church from that which Christ reproved in the temple? The merchants with their sheep and doves saw a favorable chance for selling where their wares were especially needed, and saw a special bargain for their animals without blemish. Christ saw the temple being used for an end for which it was never designed, and in righteous indignation cried out, "Away with these! My Father's house is not to be turned into a shop."

Whether their plans are ethically unsound or not, the church is surely no place to train women in business methods, to turn the thoughts and energies of the brightest and most alert women into conversation and broadcasting for business. If they are "good news broadcasters" let their good news be the same that Christ bade them proclaim. All these plans are based on an assumption and method quite different from Christ's. They say, "Get money and then you can bring in the kingdom." Christ says, "Seek first the kingdom and all these things shall be added unto you." In a recent sermon Rev. Samuel Shoemaker said: "We are at one of those cynical junctures of history where men have discovered the almost rightness of a great deal that is wrong; and the almost wrongness of a great deal that is right. The good seems so mixed with bad, and the bad so mixed with good, that many have despaired of finding a conviction that can be thoroughly and irrevocably held. It has made of us almost a race of moral skeptics and therefore of moral experimenters."

Let us think this matter through and save the women of the church from being exploited.

BOOKS

New York's Man-Eating Tiger

TAMMANY AT BAY. *By James E. Finegan. Dodd, Mead & Company, $2.00.*

THE publication of this book comes at a time when Tammany Hall is faced with the most serious threat to its power since 1913. From present indications the forthcoming elections in New York city will demonstrate that New Yorkers are up in arms against the interminable graft and corruption which the "benevolent" society of Tammany has brazenly fostered for decades. Even should the Tammany candidate, Mayor O'Brien, win at the polls, it will be barely by the skin of his teeth and there will be enough of an opposition vote to show that public consciousness in New York city has at last aroused itself to a fever pitch.

Nevertheless, as the author notes, Tammanyism is not an evil to which New York city alone is addicted. It is a curse which is prevalent throughout the country. Consequently advocates of clean government throughout the land will look keenly forward to the forthcoming elections, and what New York does in meeting this crisis and using this opportunity will affect what other cities try to do and succeed in doing to put to rout graft and corruption in public life.

Mr. Finegan deems this task a holy crusade because everything which is considered holy in American public life is at stake. He declares:

"Unless we are so discouraged and debauched that we despair of self-government, unless we are ready to accept a dictatorship of gluttony's choosing, unless we are willing to define democracy as a struggle for personal advantage rather than for the common good, unless we have come to scorn the freeman's ballot—then we must oust and outlaw Tammanyism. Our whole country is watching us. If we lose in 1933 in the the face of our exceptional opportunity, a hundred cities will fall deeper into cynicism. If we win this year, every self-governing unit in our land will thrill with conviction that it too can win against its own Tammanyism."

Exactly what Tammanyism consists of, Mr. Finegan illustrates by dozens of specific examples of graft, corruption and thievery indulged in by Tammany and its satellites. Most of these instances are already well known to New Yorkers as a result of the Seabury investigation and other notable cases which have reached the light of print. Some of the phases of Tammany's activity, such as its methods of punishing opposition and enforcing its demands, are not so well known and, as Mr. Finegan states, they arouse violent emotions in the breast of any American who has been reared to believe that the era of brute power is out of place in the twentieth century anywhere in the United States. When the old New York World attacked Hylan, Tammany promptly slapped violations on the old Pulitzer building from the fire department, the building department, etc., until it cost $300,000, and

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before Tammany was through it ruined the Pulitzers. Such activity indicates that Tammanyism is nothing more than a subtle form of Hitlerism.

Mr. Finegan believes that reformers need not look for any hope from Mr. McKee, who is an out-and-out Tammany man, as is Al Smith. Still, he believes the growing revolt against Tammany within recent months presages better days ahead. The civil service employes are in revolt against Tammany for its betrayal of civil service. The church has risen to denounce Tammanyism with all its might. The bar has repeatedly attacked Tammany's control of the courts. The press is almost unanimously anti-Tammany. New York is not beaten, Mr. Finegan declares. Its voters have all the idealism their forefathers had. The one inspiring issue paramount in 1933 is to drive Tammany out of power and gain four years in which to make over conditions and habits so that anti-Tammanyism shall succeed itself. LOUIS MINSKY.

A New Philosophy of History

SPINOZA AND BUDDHA: VISIONS OF A DEAD GOD. *By S. M. Melamed. The University of Chicago Press, $3.00.*

HERE is what another critic has called "philosophy in the grand manner." That opinion may be heartily adopted if it can be done with the proviso that it is also history in a very loose and subjective manner. The main thesis is that the philosophy of Spinoza stems not from his European contemporaries and immediate predecessors but from oriental thought and especially from Buddhism. "World-history reveals two basic tendencies from which originate, on the one hand, the line extending from the Upanishads to Buddha, St. Paul, St. Augustine, and Spinoza, and, on the other hand, the line extending from Moses, the prophets of Israel, Socrates, Plato, the Reformation, Leibnitz, and Kant."

The essential characteristics of these two currents of thought are that the first defines reality so completely in terms of universal spirit that individuals are drowned in the ocean of an undifferentiated universal, struggle ceases to be worth while because it can have no possible issue except defeat, and, whatever may be the iridescent beauty of the process of cosmic decay, only death and darkness can be the outcome at last; the second makes man the center of all things, stresses the worth of the individual, makes God a person who is the ally of the human persons who struggle for existence and a place in the sun, and encourages a lively hope of victory in that struggle. "Buddhism is coequal with pessimism. . . . The future holds nothing in store for man. Buddha speaks constantly of the preceding existences of man. The future to him is only Nirvana, the state of not being. The optimist, on the other hand, hates the past, despises the present, but has faith in the future." Medieval man was overwhelmed by the thought of sin and in his yearning for redemption not the organization of life but its suppression became the ideal. With the renaissance and reformation came the discovery of man and the rise of a new individualism which, after a promising beginning, was "checked by two forces—Bruno in the south and Spinoza in the north. Just when western man was planning to secure the future, to conquer for himself an impregnable position in life and to make it more comfortable, joyous and satisfactory, Spinoza with his dead God and his spirit of gloom announced to bustling western humanity that man is irretrievably lost in this life."

All this is suggestive of a very sweeping and brilliant generalization upon the philosophy of history—a generalization provocative of discussion and fruitful in its suggestion. I will not pause here to pursue the argument further except to say that, like any sweeping generalization upon history, it does violence to many facts, and that like any dichotomy it oversimplifies the materials which it classifies. To make Bruno a towering figure which could turn aside the current of civilization seems quite clearly an achievement of the imagination rather than a sober interpretation of history. Nevertheless, the brilliance and range of the discussion and the scope of the author's interest in cultural and literary as well as philosophical data, make his book fascinating and rewarding.

But to trace an affinity between the teachings of Spinoza and Buddha is one thing and to establish an historical connection is another. Mr. Melamed's brilliant gifts of generalization are no help at all when he undertakes to prove that Palestine, Asia Minor, North Africa, and southeastern Europe were honeycombed with Buddhism at the beginning of the Christian era. I have endeavored without success to learn anything about that "King Osaka, the Constantine of Buddhism," who is alleged to have put Buddhism on the map from the Oxus to the Mediterranean in the third century B. C. The author refers to him as someone whom every intelligent person ought to know about, and it may be so, but the authorities whom I have been able to consult seem singularly unaware of his existence. However much more the author may know about King Osaka than anybody else knows, he knows a great deal less about Marcion and Valentinus and the gnostics than is available in many fairly elementary books on the subject. Speaking generally, I should say that the westward diffusion of Buddhism requires a much more sober and less imaginative treatment before it can be made convincing, and that the theory of an historical nexus between Spinoza and the orient remains as tenuous as a single frayed strand of a cobweb.

The discussion of Spinoza's doctrines and of his influence on subsequent thinkers, both in the field of technical philosophy and in general literature, is both brilliant and informing. I find that I am overworking the word "brilliant," but it seems inevitable. The book has that quality—and the defects that go with it. W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

THE STORY OF AIRCRAFT. *By Chelsea Fraser. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, $2.50.*

"Conquering the air" is rather a foolish and bombastic phrase. Man cannot curb or reverse the lightest zephyr. The air takes no orders from man—not even from Lindbergh. But when man learns the ways of the air he can adapt himself to them and, with its cooperation, get the results that he desires. It took a long course of experimentation to learn enough about the air to keep afloat in it, and there is still much to learn. This book tells the whole picturesque story, from the legendary beginnings with Daedalus and Icarus down to the master aviators whose names one sees in the papers today. Only Darius Green seems to be missing. The record as here given is anecdotal rather than technical.

THREE LIVES. *By Gertrude Stein. Modern Library, 95 cents.*

The republication of this early work of Miss Stein, just at this moment when her autobiography is getting a wide reading, is a fortunate circumstance. It may be doubted whether this or any other book of hers will ever be read by many outside of a coterie of those who find some esoteric satisfaction in thinking of themselves as the kind of people who read Gertrude Stein. It is easy to believe, as competent critics say, that some popular writers have learned much from the study of her style. They might learn from it how to keep very close to nature in its

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simplest forms, how to dispense with all verbal ornament and sentimentality, how to write sentences and paragraphs and whole chapters as flat as a Nebraska landscape or a tune of three notes, how to get on with a very small vocabulary by the patient and unembarrassed repetition of the same few words. These are all good things for a writer to know, provided he also knows enough other things. It is this reviewer's opinion that the genius which enables Miss Stein to write as she does (and she admits that she is the greatest genius among living or recent writers) is not to be compared with the courage which she displays in being willing to do so.

THE RETURN OF RAFFLES. *By Barry Perowne. John Day, $2.00.*

E. W. Horning, the creator of Raffles, is gone, but the ingenious and ingratiating amateur cracksman is back at his old tricks under the sponsorship of a new author. He seems to have lost nothing of his cunning—from which it appears that Horning's distinctive merit was in the creation of a character, not in inventing the particular episodes of his innocently criminal career.

HOLLOW FOLK. *By Mandel Sherman and Thomas R. Henry. Thomas Y. Crowell Company,* $2.00.

In the valleys of the Blue Ridge mountains are isolated communities with distinctive and sometimes curious cultural characteristics. The authors have made a serious scientific study of this backwash from the advancing tide of civilization. The materials considered included the physical conditions of life, work and play, religion, superstitions, government, education, music and morals. The picture is, for the most part, very unlike that of the idealized noble mountaineer.

CORRESPONDENCE

Patriotism Ltd.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "Nobody is encouraged to inquire what goes on inside an armament factory. Armament making is as completely secret as anything in the modern world. From the secret collection of orders by secret agents disbursing secret bribes to the secret loading of steamers bound for secret destinations, the entire arms manufacture and traffic is mysterious and impenetrable." Thus the opening paragraph of the pamphlet, "Patriotism Ltd." just issued by the Union of Democratic Control, London, a companion to the one published a year ago entitled "The Secret International." The new one follows the line of the former in exposing the vicious intrigues and lawlessness of the armament and munitions industries. Its intention is well indicated by the subtitle on the cover, "Exposure of the War Machine."

The astounding revelations made in this brochure are fully as shocking to the upright mind as those in the former one and indicate that even greater activity in armament production has been carried on during the intervening period. It goes without saying that every intelligent adult should read this booklet and ascertain for himself the enormous extent of the work so steadily and relentlessly continued by this interlocking worldwide racket by which a handful of directors and owners of these deadly industries in different lands are heaping up riches at the expense of the toiling taxpaying masses.

The facts told in this brochure are unbelievable though true! It describes the rearmament of Germany; reveals secrets of war research work; exposes gun-running in central Europe; tells the story of the greatest arms scandal since the war; shows the activities and the profits of the armament industry during the disarmament conference. In the first chapter is a section devoted to disclosing how the key position in the present administration in Germany is held by Thyssen, one of the great forces behind Hitler, the great iron magnate of the Ruhr who has been cooperating with the Hitler government. Thyssen has generously supported Hitler's party with money and advice since 1927.

Subsequent chapters are entitled; "Gun-Running in Central Europe"; "The Skoda Scandal"; "Perfecting Death"; "The Science of Murder"; "The Proof of the Profits"; and each deals factually and convincingly with the various subjects discussed in it. It is no strain on the imagination to realize that these make reading of the most absorbing interest! The last named chapter tells of the secret sales and the immense profits received by Vickers-Armstrongs in England, Schneider in France and Skoda in Czecho-Slovakia. Then comes the conclusion:

> "In the preceding chapters we have shown how the world is arming for war; we have described the methods employed by armaments manufacturers, their intimate relationships with governments, and the intensified research now being conducted into methods for perfecting the war machine. We have shown how, during the period of almost universal depression, the manufacturers of war materials are enjoying a period of prosperity and planning ahead for still better times to come. We have seen how they have profited from the imperialist wars in the Far East and in South America and from increased preparations for war in Europe . . .
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> "The most striking and important regrouping of European nations has followed the triumph of Hitler in Germany. Fascism—the extreme form of organized nationalism—threatens war wherever it develops, and Hitlerism today is a menace to every country on its frontiers. Many people today believe that a preventive war against Germany in the near future before she can become a first-class military nation is a probability.
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> "Such a situation produces an atmosphere ideally suited to the interests of Patriotism Ltd., which under various high-sounding slogans prepares people's minds for war, in the press, on the platform, on the screen, and in the military displays for which 1933 is a record year."

Everyone who considers himself a patriot should read this extraordinary booklet. Everyone whose ideal of patriotism is that of endeavoring to safeguard his country's security and insure and enhance its prosperity should acquire the information presented in this remarkable brochure of 64 pages. Then, indeed, and not till then, will he know what will enable him to form an opinion as to the one and only way by which war can be abolished.

Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from the Union of Democratic Control, 34 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, England. Price 14 cents postpaid. In this country from the War Registers League, 171 West 12th Street, New York city. Price 20 cents postpaid.

Brookline, Mass. LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

The Army and the C. C. C.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The Christian Century is to be congratulated for giving recognition to the part played by the army in making the citizens conservation camps a success—as they surely are. Your correspondent (of October 25) is the first within my notice to make reference to this. As soon as this business got under way, it developed that neither the department of labor nor that of agriculture was equipped to select, examine and prepare the applicants for their new work. Only army officers who had had experience in fitting raw boys from the city into the exigencies of life in the open understood the technique. To handle 300,000 of them in the short space of three months was a colossal undertaking.

The war department received no funds for its personnel. The officers did this job as an "extra." Incidentally they had just taken

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a severe salary cut. Something of the pressure they have undergone will appear from this letter that one of them recently wrote (from Idaho) to his father.

"Dear Dad: From your recent letter I see that I have been neglecting my personal correspondence. I have been too busy to write. We have 31 camps in this district. I have been trying to get 28 of them off to various destinations in the east. The pressure of local politics has been such that we had to retain 3, to which 5 others will be added. Yet all our information indicates winter temperatures of 30 or 40 degrees below zero. How to keep the men in 8 camps supplied and comfortable is our problem. Of course, no work can be done by them. Fine opportunities for recreation—hunting and fishing—are all about me, but I never get a minute off. Sundays, holidays and all other days—and many nights as well—mean only work, work. I have dropped from 175 pounds weight when I began with the C.C.C. to 155. How much longer I shall last remains to be seen. We struggle with incompetent, irresponsible help. I finally bought this portable typewriter (though I have one at home) because I was worn out with waiting two and three days for the help of one of the clerks. Also I have a good house at my own army camp, but since no quarters are provided here I have to pay out $50 a month rent. Whether in my reduced physical state I can withstand the severe winter here I do not know. I hope that in the readjustment now in process I shall be returned to my army post.

Affectionately,

_____"

Your correspondent might well have given more emphasis to the money that is reaching the families of these boys. Twenty-five dollars a month multiplied by 300,000 amounts to a respectable total. That many of these families were suffering from undernourishment was evident from the condition in which the boys were found.

Nashville, Tenn. GEORGE B. WINTON.

Two Important U. S. Duties

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The United States is just marking time as regards the settlement of international problems which vitally affect the whole future of civilization. Whatever may be said about our concerning ourselves with European problems, there are two forward steps which the United States alone can take and about which we are grossly negligent and inert. One is the demand for repeal of the very unjust exclusion act by which 189 Japanese are prevented from entering our borders under annual quotas and becoming citizens. Charles E. Hughes, when secretary, worked manfully against the folly of alienating the people of Japan by proclaiming a race inferiority, which cut them to the heart and has rankled ever since with most unfortunate results. Had we not made that blunder, and had we been a member of the League of Nations, the situation in the far east today would be very different. Now is the time to begin agitation for action when congress opens. The public needs education on the whole matter.

The second matter which we alone can deal with is one that might favorably affect the attitude of Latin America at the Montivedeo conference to open in December and deal with North American and Latin American problems. This is to demilitarize the Mexican border. In 1817, by the Rush-Bagot agreement, we demilitarized the Canadian border. This stretch of over 3000 miles is the safest border line in the world. Why not remove our forts, our one hundred officers and about 4000 soldiers and remove all fear from Mexicans of the colossus of the north? The objections that Mexicans have a different language, are of a different race and that many are still illiterate and that there is no parallel between the two cases for demilitarization is not a cogent one. I have not the very latest figures but know that for ten years, according to war department figures, only sixteen Americans were killed on the border while 143 Mexicans were killed. The tactful diplomacy of Ambassador Morrow wrought a marvelous change in our relations between the two countries.

It must be remembered that our own homicide record is the most disgraceful of that of any Christian country. In the states bordering Mexico there have been almost as many as a hundred murders to each one killed by Mexicans. At the time of the Rush-Bagot agreement between Canada and us there was far more hostility between Canadians and our citizens than exists between Mexicans and us today. We have wronged Mexico in the past. General Grant who was a young lieutenant in the Mexican war said it was one of "the most unjust wars ever fought by a stronger against a weaker people." We took half of Mexico's territory and paid only about $15,000,000—less than the cost of some of our single skyscrapers. Our attack on Vera Cruz is now recognized as unnecessary and a blunder.

Now is the time for us to show the world that the pact for the renunciation of war means what it says. Every movement in every land to demilitarize frontiers will mightily help to make the postponed disarmament conference take a stride toward real accomplishment. Though no action can be taken until after the Montevideo conference, the proposal and discussion of abolishing our fortified frontier would greatly help.

Boston, Mass. LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Gambling and the Movies

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The Christian Century has concerned itself with gambling and with the movies. It may be interested in the observation that is made in Britain that the movies train people to the gambling habit, because when a man in a movie gambles he ordinarily wins, so that the careless spectator gets an unduly strong expectation of winning if he himself gambles.

Ballard Vale, Mass. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Surplus and Hunger

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: While granting that the Ohio Methodists do not quite take account of the moral complexity of raising and marketing hogs, you do not give evidence in your comments on their resolution that you have brought all the factors into the problem. The deliberate destruction of food by its producers is simply an extreme case of the use of economic power in a capitalistic society. If the grocer has a right to withhold goods from a customer who is unable to pay, if a university has a right to close its doors to a poor boy whose soul literally languishes for learning, the farmer has a right to withhold hogs from a market that will not pay him the cost of production. What is the difference between the act of a distributor of food and that of a producer of food? The one is as guilty as the other for the starvation of his neighbors. What is the difference between the act of a producer of food and that of a producer of education? The one kills the body while the other kills the mind. And if it is the violent act of the destruction of perishable food that snares the clarity of the problem, consider the fact that in effect destruction of food and storage of food are the same. Both withhold it from the consumer. The grocer shelves his goods until the consumer can buy them. The farmer destroys his goods, knowing that he can raise a fresh supply more cheaply than he can keep those already produced.

There is a great deal of sheer sentiment that needs to be overcome before society will deal justice to the farmer. Simply because the raw material of food originates with the farmer, he is denied the right to higgle in the market. I remember when Prof. A. E. Holt was first giving his support to the farmers of the Chicago milk shed, he upheld their right to strike, in a speech that he delivered before some social science body. Jane Addams, who was present, was horrified. That is still the emotional response of the typical urbanite. The city dweller does not stop to think that a live pig in his ice chest would hardly satisfy his appetite, or that a ten gallon can of sour milk on his back porch would feed his baby for a month. Supplying food in an edible form is today a complicated process in which a score of separate enterprisers are directly concerned, and for which each bears

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people starve in the midst of plenty. But place the responsibility where it belongs, with the economic order, not with one of its sorriest victims.

Beverly, Mass. HERMAN C. JOHNSON.

Black Streaks on the Blue Eagle

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial on the Negro and the NRA aptly describes the temper of the American mind toward the forgotten man, especially the forgotten black man. Consciously or unconsciously he is left out of every equation, and is included only by a special or supplementary formula. Your editorial had more of the tone of impotent sermonic regret than the forthright determination to grapple with acknowledged evil. When Mr. Roosevelt invented the phrase, "the forgotten man," he made many political enemies who were willing enough to let him stay forgotten. Of course, the then candidate Roosevelt had chiefly in mind the white yeomanry which had been shunted aside by the arrogance of wealth and power. But when the matter was specifically called to his attention he was perfectly willing to include the neglected Negro in the category.

President Roosevelt undoubtedly intends to make the new deal a square deal. He has infused this spirit throughout his administration. So far as the government can do so, it is its clear desire and purpose to eliminate race distinction from the recovery program. Upon the suggestion of Congressman DePriest, congress put itself on record in favor of eliminating race discrimination from the operations of the forestry corps. Recently, Col. H. N. Waite, deputy administrator of the public works act, declared positively and with clenched fist emphasis, that the minimum wage and maximum hour provision of the code would apply to black and white alike. He asserted this attitude in face of the representation of five southern states for a racial differential.

The attitude of President Roosevelt on this score can be clearly seen from the fact that he placed the administration of the recovery acts in the hands of three of his cabinet officers known for their attitude on a square deal for the Negro. The just and generous attitude of Secretaries Ickes and Perkins is known by all who know them. Secretary Roper, though of southern birth, has gone out of his way to assure the Negro of a square deal under his department.

The Negro suffers, not so much from the enactment of law, as from its immediate administration. The codes under the NRA are first of all suggested by capitalists and labor organizations. Some times ingenious discriminations may be hidden in a code which on its face seems fair enough. In the codes presented by the textile industries, "cleaners" were exempted from the minimum wage provision. On closer scrutiny, it was found that generally Negroes recruited the ranks of the cleaners, the only capacity in which they were employed. In the steel and mining codes attempt was made to differentiate between wage levels in the north and south, ostensibly on the ground that living requirements are cheaper in one section than in the other; but there is grave suspicion this difference is due to the fact that Negroes are more largely employed in the southern field. Many employers, chiefly in the south, openly advocated paying the Negro a lower wage than the code demands or supplanting him with white workmen. Here the hands of the government are tied. Reliance must needs be placed in appeal to the sense of justice, fair play and humanity.

It is argued in some quarters that the Negro can get along on a lower wage because his living requirements are less. Secretary Perkins has exposed the fallacy of this policy. The Negro assumes a lower scale of living because he has to. The circle is vicious and ironical. The Negro is allotted a lower wage which necessitates a lower scale of living: and the lower living level is taken to justify a lower wage. He is mocked every way he turns. He finds himself in the predicament of the lovely Lavinia in Titus Andronicus, who is chided by the brutal Teutons for not calling for sweet water with which to wash her delicate hands after her tormenters had cut off her hands and hacked out her tongue.

The Negro has become the unintended victim in that the codes do not cover agricultural and domestic service in which pursuits fully three-fifths of the race are engaged. Here again reliance must be had in appeal to the conscience and humanity of the employers to give their black employes fair share of the prosperity which has come to them through the general recovery program. The blue eagle, emblematic of the NRA, can never typify the American spirit or the purpose of President Roosevelt until every black plume is plucked from his feathers.

Howard University KELLY MILLER.
Washington, D. C.

The Question Box

Taking a broad view of the past twenty years, do you believe that the preaching of "the social gospel" as it was begun by Washington Gladden, Professor Rauschenbusch, Graham Taylor, Harry Ward and others is having today as efficient and permanent results as the preaching of individual salvation? Do not the churches which emphasize the latter phase have larger congregations than those which emphasize the so called "social gospel"?—J. P. H., Evanston, Ill.

IN a rightly proportioned presentation of the gospel message there is no contrast between emphasis on individual salvation and on social righteousness. The message of the great preachers of the biblical time, both the prophets of the Old Testament and the Christian preachers of the New, laid equal stress upon individual obedience and character, and upon social righteousness. The two cannot be separated in any adequate interpretation of the Good News. It was the misfortune of the church that for so many centuries the emphasis laid by the early Christians upon the social application of the Christian faith to daily life was neglected, and salvation was appraised largely in terms of individual belief and conformity to church requirements. It was the modern study of the prophetic messages, particularly of such prophets as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, that awakened the church to a fresh responsibility for the salvation of the social order and not merely of the individual.

The type of evangelism which specialized in bringing numbers into the church and omitted the more difficult task of pointing out the implications of the gospel for community and cooperative righteousness is inevitably giving way to recognition of the solidarity of human life and the necessity of applying the gospel to all spheres of thought and conduct. The literature of the present day is giving increased attention to the meaning of Christianity in all areas of the common life. It is impossible to preach a merely individualistic gospel in the light of biblical teaching and the manifest needs of the time. The hour has passed when men could be orthodox and exemplary in individual life, and unsocial, predatory and pagan in their business relations, industrial activities and theories of social behavior. The days of such departmental living in the church God may have winked at, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent of such divided allegiance. One cannot serve God and mammon. That is the very meaning of the social gospel, and any failure to include it in preaching and practice is an evasion of the fundamental meaning of Christianity.

Little significance is to be attached to the fact that here and there preachers of an extremely individualistic gospel draw large audiences. Equally significant examples of pulpit popularity and effectiveness where stress is laid on the total meaning of the gospel are easily available. Even if an overwhelming number of examples could be cited in favor of an obsolete, or obsolescent, type of preaching it would signify little. Majorities are usually wrong. The real question is in which direction does the teaching of the New Testament and the practice of the early church point? Individual salvation and the social gospel are interrelated and inseparable. Neither can be featured to the neglect of the other. But any preaching which does not apply the principles of Jesus to the family, the community, to industry, commerce, education and the total areas of human life, is arid and futile, and in the end self-annihilating. H. L. W.

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NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

A DEPARTMENT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Condemn U. S. Naval Policy

Young Churchmen Also Blame War Victors for Slump—Churches and the NRA—Relief and Politics

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Oct. 28.—The Conference of Younger Churchmen, which has been frequently mentioned in these columns, has just drawn up a statement on the present world situation which, while deploring the present situation in Germany, lays the blame for it upon the victors in the world war. The statement also condemns the present naval policy of our own administration as a direct threat to Japan: it must inevitably result in a new naval race. The statement of our secretary of the navy that the best way to get peace is to have a navy second to none is called "a reversion to a plan for peace that all history brands as disastrous." Rev. Ralph H. Read is president of this churchmen's group and Rev. John H. Elliott the secretary.

* * *

Mayoralty Campaign At Finish

Our city campaign approaches its final phase. It is generally conceded that the issue lies between LaGuardia and McKee. Apparently each man feels that the other is the only antagonist that matters. Charges and counter charges are thrown recklessly about. Mr. LaGuardia this week charged, at least by implication, that McKee and his "Boss" Flynn connived at the dastardly hounding of Louis H. Willard, which resulted in his ruin and suicide. McKee branded this as a deliberate lie, for the Flynn responsible was not "Boss" Flynn. Mr. Seabury felt impelled to say that McKee had nothing to do with this but still it can be fairly argued, as Mr. LaGuardia does argue, that McKee is somewhat guilty in this matter as he made no protest against it. And now McKee charges that LaGuardia is a communist because he is on the list of those sponsoring Dr. Dewey's organization which seeks to form a new political party in this land. But he also charges that LaGuardia is in the campaign for the benefit of Ogden Mills and other leaders of the republican party. So his charges more or less cancel each other. It is rather disappointing to see so much of the attention on both sides given over to a consideration of issues which do not have much vital connection with the municipal government of this city. The straw votes on the whole are favorable to LaGuardia.

* * *

The Churches and The NRA

Naturally the government wants to have the fullest possible cooperation from our churches in the program of the NRA. All our pastors and rabbis in this city are being urged to celebrate Nov. 4, 5 as "NRA Sabbath and Sunday" and literature to aid them has been mailed from our local NRA headquarters. It is rather encouraging to note that our pastors are not nearly as ready to accept a place in the government machine as they were when the war came on. A desire to scrutinize with considerable care such government requests has become manifest. The "South Church Messenger," a little paper published by the South Congregational church of Brooklyn, whose pastor is Rev. Raymond McConnell, expresses the thought rather well when it says of the NRA program: "The churches are asked to support the NRA. The emergency is still great and threatening. The churches will do what seems to them right. They are not tools of the state but servants of humanity. South church will support all that seems good in the reconstruction program; we shall support our President in every constructive act of his. If some things seem wrong we shall not support government or President."

* * *

Church Choir Achievement

The Fort George Presbyterian church, of which Rev. Lyman Hartley is pastor, has done outstanding work in music. This has been done under the direction of Miss Edith Sackett, who has proceeded in a novel way. She has set up three choirs, the probation group, the junior group and the seniors. The probation group is made up of children who, after one year's work, are formally vested at a special service and become juniors. The juniors after four years' work are made seniors in an impressive service at which they receive a hood. The seniors who have attended 300 services and 150 rehearsals receive a stripe on their hood.

* * *

Relief Situation is Momentarily Better

It is reported that our home relief bureau is functioning much more generously just now. Rent is paid before families are actually evicted and the whole policy is more liberal than it has been for months. There is every indication that this is a carefully calculated policy on the part of Tammany Hall to get the votes on Nov. 7. Advertisements for the Tammany candidate stress the need of preserving unemployment relief as though this were one of the benefits of Tammany rule.

* * *

"Live It Through" Program

The Northern Baptists, with offices at 152 Madison avenue, have an interesting program for the churches of their denomination in these trying days. It is called "Live It Through" and is a specific and constructive program for each individual church to use in meeting its pressing problems in this period of depression. As the official pronouncement puts it: "This is no mere campaign to be finished by the end of the year. It is a definite effort to deepen the spiritual life of our people so that we shall permanently live on a higher level."

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Group Meetings Rouse London

Speakers Interpret Movement—No Anger Toward Germany, but a Widespread Fear of Hitler Program

(British Table Talk)

LONDON, Oct. 19.—The opening meeting of the groups' campaign was held last night in Central hall, Westminster. There were three overflow meetings. Some members of the movement from Germany, America, Holland and other countries were present. Dr. Westcott of Calcutta presided and claimed that the groups desired to see God at the heart of the individual, at the head of family life, directing all human operations. One speaker said that they desired another fire of London. Brief speeches were made by young members of the groups, chiefly undergraduates and graduates from Oxford and Cambridge, among them the dean of Caius college, Cambridge. One speaker admirably expressed what had come to him. He said that "the challenge of youth today to the world of scholarship was that learning should be related to life. As he had obeyed God's voice moral conflicts had been solved, and then came liberation of mind and will for God to use. The disciplined freedom which was experienced when God's Holy Spirit guided was the beginning of creative living and of creative thinking." This has most surely the right ring about it.

The churches are still a little hesitant. The evangelicals desire a firmer basis in theology. The broad churchmen seek for more hard thinking upon Christian truth. The Catholics fear lest the ordered life of the soul may be cut away from the historic church. But the leaders of the groups think that these critics answer one another. Their own calling is not to initiate any new Christian society or press forward any new doctrine, but to recover an "old commandment which we have had from the beginning" and to make it new.

* * *

No Blind Anger Against Germany

We had hopes on Saturday morning that the disarmament conference might find the basis of a convention upon the principles laid down by Sir John Simon. He himself thought that this might be, and said so. In the late afternoon we heard with a shock of surprise and anxiety that Germany had left the disarmament conference and proposed to leave the League of Nations. Wisely, after the announcement, our radio people called upon Mr. Vernon Bartlett to speak to the nation. In tones of deep sincerity and urgency he called upon us to seek first of all to enter into the mind of the German people. If afterward we felt bound to condemn the German action, we should at least have another spirit. If I might speak in general terms, I think our people are taking the crisis with calmness

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and are trying to understand the feeling of humiliation which Germany has suffered in the years since the peace of Versailles was signed under pressure of necessity in 1919. There is no blind anger.

* * *

Strands of Policy

There are several strands of thought. On the one hand are those who frankly advocate a policy of withdrawal from the quarrelsome European nations. They say that our lot is no more cast with them than is the lot of the United States of America. Some of these isolationists are fascist in their sympathies; they would advocate a British nationalism, with much in common with the policy of the fascists and the nazis. They have a strong press but I cannot quote any facts to show how widespread their forces are. The one possible "fascist" leader is Sir Oswald Mosley, a man of fine oratorical gifts and with undoubted courage. So far his followers, though enthusiastic, are not very numerous. The attitude of all such nationalists would be hostile to the league and averse to Britain's becoming entangled in European conflicts. There are many in addition to these nationalists who have a keen sympathy with the German complaint that the nations have not kept their word to the conquered powers in this matter of disarmament. Mr. Lloyd George speaks for them. Others are determined that we must stand by the Locarno treaty at all costs. That has been much discussed. Certain publicists declare that it is no longer binding since Germany has announced its intention of leaving the league, and the Locarno pact was conditional upon Germany's being in the league.

There is a very strong feeling against the creed and methods of the present German government; and perhaps the judgment most commonly heard is that the change from Stresemann to Hitler has altered the attitude which is possible toward German arms. Few blame nations in Europe for their hesitation in allowing Germany to rearm. Herr Hitler may speak of his peaceful intentions, but there are back numbers in his life and his utterances made while he was seeking office are not forgotten. There is a widespread fear in this country lest Germany should seek equality in arms not by the way of a general reduction but by using her immense energy upon fresh military equipment. That is why the sympathy which was felt generally toward Stresemann has so largely waned.

* * *

Mr. Henderson Broadcasts

I heard Mr. Henderson speak last night on the radio. It is a great test of sincerity for a statesman to speak in this way. Henderson was unmistakably sincere, earnest and statesmanlike. He claimed that the arms convention must be completed and the League of Nations must not be suffered to go down. There is no final hope for Europe unless its nations think and plan together. It seems as if Signor Mussolini has hopes of bringing about an international agreement in spite of the fact that Germany has severed herself from the league. The British government, in common with the others, is meeting to formulate its own plans in view of this new fact. Sir Oswald Mosley thinks that the provisions of the four-power pact furnish the necessary machinery; he thinks Mussolini is the best peacemaker in Europe. Lord Cecil says that the conference should draw up a treaty fair to all and then present it to the German government for acceptance or rejection. At the moment it looks as though this would be done. But it needs no words of mine to show how serious a crisis this is for Europe and for the rest of the world.

* * *

And So Forth

It is probable that Lord Irwin will succeed the late Viscount Grey as chancellor of Oxford university. The election will take place on November 25. He will be the chosen candidate of the conservatives.

The American ambassador is to open the new hall of residence for women students of the University college, Exeter, Oct. 24. For some years past this college has had American students among its graduate and undergraduate members.

"The fairest, godliest and most famous parish church in England," according to Queen Elizabeth was St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. This church has been restored. The work has taken three years and has cost nearly £100,000.

The trade returns for September were most encouraging. Exports were nearly 25 per cent more than those of September, 1932. Nearly 600,000 more tons of coal were exported than in the same month last year. There were large increases also in the export of iron and steel and in wool, as well as in others of our staple trades.

Sir Austen Chamberlain was 70 yesterday and it seems only a short time since Gladstone scribbled a warm note of congratulation to Joseph Chamberlain upon the maiden speech of his son in parliament. Sir Austen justly ranks high among our elder statesmen.

EDWARD SHILLITO

Civil Liberties Union Supports Right of U.S. Nazis to Meet

Protesting Mayor O'Brien's refusal to permit a meeting in New York city of the United German societies on the ground that nazi sympathizers were to speak and a riot might follow, the American civil liberties union offered legal aid to the German Americans and declared that it was confident the courts would uphold their right to meet. "While we have no sympathy with the activities of a government which has suppressed all civil liberties," the union said, "we protest against copying nazi methods on American soil."

Prof. Hocking in Lecture Series at New York University

New York university presents Dr. W. E. Hocking, of Harvard university, in a series of six lectures on successive Mondays (4:15 p. m.) beginning Nov. 6. This series is under the Deems lectureship. Dr. Hocking's general subject is "The West and the Spiritual Life of Asia."

Dr. Hans Luther to Broadcast on Martin Luther Program

Dr. Hans Luther, German ambassador to the U.S., will be the chief speaker on a program commemorating the 450th birthday anniversary of Martin Luther, to be heard over Columbia network Nov. 10, at 10:45 eastern time. Ambassador Luther is a lineal descendant of the 16th century reformer.

Norman Thomas Draws Crowds

7000 Hear Him on Berkeley Campus—Churchmen Investigate Strikes—Church for San Quentin Penitentiary

(Correspondence from San Francisco)

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 23.—Nearly 7000 persons bought tickets to hear Norman Thomas and Chester Rowell, regent of the University of California and editorial writer of the San Francisco Chronicle, debate the topic "Is Socialism Fit for America?" on Oct. 17 in the university gymnasium on the Berkeley campus, Pres. Robert G. Sproul presiding. Mr. Thomas had addressed Presbyterian theological students at San Anselmo that morning and visited Tom Mooney at San Quentin in the afternoon. On the following day he spoke at a luncheon in the University Christian church at Berkeley sponsored by the Christian social ethics class, addressed the unemployed in an Oakland park, and two other meetings in San Jose and Palo Alto before his evening lecture in San Francisco on "The New Deal."

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Churchmen Investigate Strikes in California

California has been suffering greatly from violence in the strikes of migrant laborers, and four strikers have been killed. As some were Mexicans, the affair has taken on international complications. Archbishop Hanna, Pres. Tully C. Knowles of the Methodist College of the Pacific at Stockton and Prof. Ira B. Cross of the university are serving as a fact-finding committee in the strike of over ten thousand cotton pickers in the San Joaquin valley. They recommended that the growers increase the pay from 60 to 75 cents per 100 pounds for the picking. Many of the growers are powerless to increase because of the grip of financiers and bankers on them.

Serious charges against California peace officers in the fruit, tobacco and cotton-growing districts are lodged by Rabbi Irving F. Reichert of Temple Emanuel in a letter to Governor Rolph published in the local press Oct. 7. Dr. Reichert is director of mediation and adjustment for the NRA in California and a member of the state board. He claims that investigations by the NRA "have established the disconcerting fact that in the great majority of clashes between the peace officers and the strikers, the former were responsible for inciting to violence."

The rabbi wrote the governor: "We are passing through one of the most critical periods of the NRA program. President Roosevelt, Secretary Perkins and General Johnson are deeply concerned lest the confidence of the American worker in the new deal be destroyed by an arbitrary use of power on the part of minor police officials . . . The long-suffering patience of the unemployed must be matched with equal patience on the part of our civil authorities." The Oakland Tribune commented favorably on the recommendations

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made by the investigating committee of the local pastors in the cotton growing area.

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Federation Church In Penitentiary

After much preliminary work the California state federation of churches has authorized the organization of a Protestant federated church in San Quentin penitentiary. About 200 of the nearly 5,000 inmates attend the Sunday morning service. The director of religious activities at the prison, Dr. A. C. Schmitt, is the present executive head of the church. An interdenominational commission cooperates with him and coordinates the religious work there. At the time of the Oxford groups' visit to the Bay district, there was talk of starting a group in the prison. Women's clubs and civic bodies are protesting the proposal to make Alcatraz Island a federal penitentiary for gangsters.

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Dog Racing Scandals

The press has much to say concerning the investigations into the dog racing scandals in San Mateo county, adjoining San Francisco. The community is surprised to hear of 16 millions being wagered in two depression years, the management benefiting to the extent of over two million, or 13½ per cent. Dog racing has been kept out of San Francisco county. The system of option purchases which is used in betting may be ruled illegal in the courts.

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Benefit Horse Racing On a Sunday

Some criticism has been directed against the community chest's acceptance of the offer to donate the admission charged for a Sunday's horse racing, as the commission set up by the state constitutional amendment adopted a year ago has prohibited Sunday racing. They made an exception in this case which may become embarrassing as a precedent. This year the chest is seeking $1,945,000, and the acceptance of such a compromising offer indicates tough sledding.

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500 Japanese Gather

Japanese youth, mostly native sons and daughters of California, gathered 500 strong for their ninth annual Christian conference over the weekend of Oct. 22 in Berkeley. Some meetings were held also in the First Congregational church of Oakland. They were entertained in the homes of local church members. "Face to Face with the Living Christ" was the motto; "Meeting Our Responsibilities" the theme. The earnestness of the second generation Japanese Christians impressed the community. Our Chinese young people to the number of 60 had their conference lasting a week last summer on the Presbyterian Synod's lovely grounds by Lake Tahoe.

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Pastoral Changes

Rev. Alfred S. Nickless of Covenant Presbyterian church, Detroit, has been called to First Presbyterian church, San Francisco, and will begin work there Dec. 24. Prof. M. K. W. Heicher of San Anselmo has been stated supply. Rev. Noel Breed of Petaluma has accepted a call to the Congregational church of Stockton.

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Evangelistic Conferences

Dr. Jesse M. Bader, associate secretary of the Federal council's department of evangelism, is holding union evangelistic conferences in the First Baptist church, Sacramento, Nov. 8, First Christian church, Oakland, Nov. 9 and First Christian church, Fresno, Nov. 10. Dr. Daniel F. Rittenhouse of Pasadena and Dr. Warren Grafton of Los Angeles are the out-of-town speakers for the Oakland gathering.

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And So Forth

Once a year the theological students of four local seminaries gather for a day's conference. This year the Berkeley Baptist divinity school is host. Prof. Carl Sumner Knopf, of the department of Semitic archeology and history at the University of Southern California, was to speak Oct. 27 on "Preaching Values in Archeological Discoveries."

Prof. C. E. Rugh of the university's department of education is selecting a committee for Vierling Kersey, state superintendent of public instruction, to study the relation of the public school to the church school. Speaking in a Berkeley church Oct. 23 the official declared that one out of every five able-bodied persons in the state is in school, the teachers numbering 50,000.

Miss Jeanette Rankin, the Montana congresswoman who voted against America's entry into the war, will be heard over KTAB Sunday, Nov. 19, at 10 a. m. from Prof. Earl G. Linsley's Bible class and in several churches in the Bay district. Dr. Linsley is in charge of Oakland's municipal observatory. She will occupy Rev. Edgar Allan Lowther's pulpit in Temple Methodist church, San Francisco, Sunday evening. STANLEY ARMSTRONG HUNTER

Mary E. Lease Dies at 84

Mary Elizabeth Lease, who achieved a national reputation as a labor and temperance agitator in Kansas late in the last century, died in New York, Oct. 29, at 84 years of age.

Ministers 'Meddle' in Union Strikes

Get First-Hand Information in Garment-Makers' Picket Lines—Students Protest Military Training

(Correspondence from Los Angeles)

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 28.—Much attention in ministerial circles is being focused this week on a strike in the garment manufacturing industry. This is one of the American cities which have not been strongly unionized, and the garment makers' union has been particularly weak. Under the NRA the union has been making strenuous efforts to bring about the closed shop, and has called a strike to enforce recognition of the union and remedy some conditions within the industry. There seem to be some contradictions between the statements of the manufacturers and the strikers relative to the question of low wages paid, the employers freely offering to show their books and prove their case. Preachers have been in the picket lines visiting with the strikers and getting first-hand information concerning conditions, but up to the time of this writing had had little part in actual discussions except through newspaper interviews. The "clearing house," an organization of Methodist pastors, appointed a committee to investigate and this committee issued a call for religious leaders of other bodies to meet with them and formulate a standard by which the churches could judge such industrial disputes. In this fashion the conscience of the church has been thrust into the dispute in a most effective fashion. There has been the usual advice to the preachers to quit meddling with affairs outside their domain, but their voice has been effectively heard nevertheless.

* * *

Some Eminent Visitors

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during November. The poet is spending the first two weeks in the city and Mr. Eddy the last week of November. Each has a heavy schedule of speaking engagements.

* * *

Another Military Training Dispute

Two young men, sons of Methodist ministers, enrolled at the University of California at Los Angeles, have protested against the requirement of the university that they take military training, and are preparing to take the matter into the courts and defend their case as conscientious objectors, and plead the position of the Methodist general conference as their defense. A fund is being raised by Methodist preachers and laymen to assist the young men in obtaining the necessary legal counsel and assistance, and thus another case sets out for the supreme court.

* * *

Gipsy Smith Revival

Gipsy Smith, the famed English evangelist, is engaged in holding a revival meeting in Pomona, under the auspices of an interdenominational group. The crowds are an eloquent testimony to the personal popularity of the beloved preacher, but even the magic name of the Gipsy is not sufficient to guarantee a revival.

* * *

Those Militant Women

The state convention of the W.C.T.U. was held in Hollywood the last week in October and one would never suppose that the dry cause was lost if he had attended one of the sessions. Hundreds of women from all over the state were in attendance, vowing a new enthusiasm and dedicating a new passion to the fight on alcohol. The number of elderly women in the convention was very noticeable, and one has the feeling that this great women's organization is faced with the necessity of recruiting a new body of crusaders as well as carrying on the fight against the oncoming saloon. Let the new liquor traffic begin to strike again at the homes as it did in the old days and the younger women will come in again. As it is, they know little of the horrors of a drink-wrecked home or of husbands pawning children's shoes for liquor. In the meantime these veteran women carry on, and there are thousands of them in California rising to a new militancy.

* * *

Community Chests

In Los Angeles and communities hereabouts the annual drive for the community chests is on. The city of Los Angeles is asking for approximately $3,000,000. Long Beach is asking its people for $175,000. Mayor Shaw of Los Angeles says that out of a population a little in excess of two million in the county, 5,000 persons are on public or private charity. One factor that makes the situation vastly worse in southern California is the fact that many of the unemployed in the east think that if they come to Los Angeles they will be able to keep warm, at least. Thus it appears that almost 10,000 are arriving every month.

ROY L. SMITH.

Dr. Clausen Comes to Pittsburgh

Succeeds the Late Dr. Petty—Throngs at Foreign Missions Meet—Pennsylvania Baptists Convene

(Correspondence from Pittsburgh)

PITTSBURGH, Oct. 31.—Dr. Bernard Clausen comes to the First Baptist church after 13 years in Syracuse. We all expect much. He enters the pulpit made vacant by the untimely passing of Dr. Carl Wallace Petty. Our city needs a new voice. Dr. Albert Day has gone to Baltimore, Dr. W. W. F. Duncan to Cleveland, Dr. Robert McGowan to New York, and now Dr. Goldenson may leave us. The First Baptist church has a superb building, a replica of St. Chappelle, Paris. Unfortunately it is not large; an attendance of 500 looks like a crowd there. We wonder what Dr. Clausen will do after he fills the Sunday school rooms as Dr. Petty usually did every Sunday morning. The university is beside the church and the students live all about and more than any other church it ministers to students—although Dr. Hugh T. Kerr has two clubs which lead all the rest in size and importance. A number of ministers are speaking at the reception which will be given Dr. Clausen Nov. 8.

* * *

Foreign Missionary Conference

The United foreign missionary conference, which has been holding a series of meetings from coast to coast, came to Pittsburgh Oct. 26, 27. This is one of 29 great conferences held in the interest of the missionary enterprise in which 28 mission boards cooperated, united in message and motive. If one may judge by the response given in our city, the missionary motive is still decidedly alive. Many of the Pittsburgh Christians evidently believe that carrying the gospel to all nations is still the chief business of the church. The largest auditoriums and banquet halls had their capacities tested by the throngs of people who flocked to hear the outstanding missionary leaders. There was a brand new note sounded to the effect that the word "missionary" might give way to "Christian friendliness." International good will and mutual understanding between the nations and the various religious groups seems to be the new idea in this field.

The Thursday forenoon was given to a conference for ministers and their wives, which brought out a remarkable percentage of the pastors of the 600 churches cooperating. The various denominations went aside for luncheon in separate groups, each one being addressed by some great missionary leader of its own denomination. The total effect has been a decided quickening of missionary interest in our city.

* * *

Pennsylvania Baptist Convention

The Pennsylvania Baptist convention was held in the Sandusky street church, of which Dr. Charles S. Dayton is pastor. The convention was not only largely attended, but leading spirits in the group were pleased with the strong progressive note that was struck.

During the religious education session of the convention, Rudolph Morgan, one of our Baptist students in Pitt, who is preparing for the ministry, told the assembled sages that in their efforts to perpetuate ecclesiastical machinery, the older generation had made a sorry mess of Christian ethical standards as applied to the world of human affairs. "In order to save what is good in organized religion, drastic changes in organization are necessary in the future. We young people are determined to effect such changes." Perhaps the most significant element about this presentation was the way in which the oldsters listened to indictments that would not have been countenanced five years ago; not only listened to them, but took them—and asked for more.

Rev. A. J. R. Schumaker, state director of religious education, confronted the convention with the claims of combined church and church school services.

* * *

Dr. A. W. Beaven Speaks

Dr. A. W. Beaven, president of the Federal council and head of Colgate-Rochester divinity school, represented the American Baptist home mission society. He challenged the convention to cooperation in major objectives in mission work in America. "This is not the time for favorite enterprises; some of our personal interests must be subordinated to the main goals of our work in seeking to build the kingdom of God." Dr. Beaven's address was essentially a plea to the Baptists of America for such intelligent cooperation as was the demand of the Laymen's report. The theme of the convention was "United, Vital Faith Triumphs."

Dr. Ivan Murry Rose, pastor of the First Baptist church of Philadelphia, pressed home his demand that we take Christ seriously. In the convention sermon he declared that if we are to have the revival for which so many observers are scanning the horizon, it will not be through the old forms of revivalism, but through a personal rethinking of the implications of the Christian faith to which must be coupled a daring spirit that is willing to cut away all accretions that do not contribute to the power of the simple life which is the heart of Christianity.

Edward Bleakney, addressing the youth session of the convention on the theme "Christ Honors Youth," advised the young people to burn bridges behind them, so that the temptation to retreat in time of stress be not too strong. "Follow the courageous spirit of Jesus into the battlefields of the present world; you can not make more of a mess of things than has the former generation—under God you may nobly surpass them."

Dr. Harold C. Phillips, minister of First church, Cleveland, closed the convention on Thursday evening with an address, "The Business of Religion." Following a dramatic presentation of the "Return of the Prodigal" by the members of the Sandusky dramatic club, he led the convention into the irresolute course of "Prodigal Society." The address was a

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pungent challenge to take in earnest the principles of the "the social gospel of Jesus." "Religion and business are not separate compartments of our personal life. Religion must be mixed with business lest the former grow misty and the latter grow crude."

The social service commission recommended to all Baptist communions in Pennsylvania this year the study by groups of the three issues of Christian temperance, international relations and economic justice.

Upon these social interests the Baptist trumpet gave no uncertain sound. Nearly 1,000 delegates were present.

* * *

Annual Welfare Fund

A unique and highly commendable thing has happened in charitable circles in our city: the old city hall has been cleaned up, in and out, and rented to social agencies at the nominal figure of $5000 per annum. The place is now buzzing with activity in behalf of the annual welfare fund drive which is set for Nov. 13-28. The sum to be reached is lower this year, $2,837,980, as the total number of families or units on the fund stands now at about 60,000. Some increase is expected during the coming months, although employment is better in our vicinity. In the state of Pennsylvania the total has fallen below a million of unemployed for the first time in over three years. Seventy-seven social agencies now cooperate in the welfare drive, including the Young Men's Christian association. It will be a tough pull, this year, to get the money.

* * *

Will Dr. Goldenson Go to New York?

Persistent rumor has it that Dr. Samuel Goldenson, leading liberal rabbi of Pittsburgh, has been called to the synagogue on Fifth avenue, New York, where he will give himself entirely to preaching. Yesterday he would neither confirm nor deny these rumors. He is a philosopher and a brave champion of human rights. We hope he will stay with us, but we fear he will go.

JOHN RAY EWERS.

Dr. R. H. Potter Heads Mission Board

Dr. Rockwell Harmon Potter, dean of Hartford seminary, has been elected president of the American board of commissioners for foreign missions. Prof. Arthur E. Holt, of Chicago, and Mrs. Franklin D. Warner, of Claremont, Cal., were elected vice-presidents; Rev. Oscar E. Maurer, New Haven, recording secretary.

Secretary Perkins Urges Unemployment Insurance

Speaking before the International Association of public employment agencies of the United States and Canada, two weeks ago, Secretary Frances Perkins urged the enactment of unemployment legislation in all states. Speaking for job insurance, she called attention to the British system of unemployment relief, asserting that the building up of reserves through insurance in this country might serve as an incentive to employers to evolve means of leveling industrial peaks and valleys.

Quarrels Rend German Church

German Christian Movement Shows Speed —Church as State's Conscience—Millennial Idea Passes—Church Taxation

(Correspondence from Germany)

BERLIN, Oct. 17.—A kind of guerilla warfare exists in the churches of Germany. "The church here is divided, and as long as we remain Germans it will never cease its quarrels," said a leading pastor, sympathizer with the German Christian movement, to the writer. The most powerful warrior of the new church is Joachim Hossenfelder, youthful leader of the German Christian movement. This ardent nazi holds five commanding ecclesiastical offices. He is bishop of Brandenburg, reichs leader of the German Christians, member of the clerical ministerium, vice-president of the supreme church council of Prussia, and empowered representative of Reichsbischof Müller. (The theory of extended powers is not new. Luther's Roman superior was at once bishop of Magdeburg, Mainz, and Halberstadt.) Four months ago he and his colleagues prided themselves on the presence of professors in their movement. Today these intellectuals are in the background, discredited because of their impractical counsels of moderation and deliberation.

* * *

Church as Conscience Of the State

In practically all Berlin churches the pastors are at heart divided as to whether the church should be the conscience of the state or not. Most Berlin churches have memberships of 30,000, with at least three pastors. The German Christians and their opponents, the "gospel and church" party, contend for the saints—and the camp-followers. In some congregations the pastors are united. Speaking of their recruiting campaign in one Berlin church the German Christian official organ reports: "Unfortunately our group is dependent on foreign help since the four clergymen of the congregation are outside the faith movement of German Christians." The "ins" claim 70 per cent of the church. The "outs" also claim the same majority. Both may be right, depending on what one means by "church." Of all those paying church taxes the German Christians might have a majority. But of those who have attended church and been active spiritually in their parishes surely a large majority view with dismay the Aryan paragraph in the church, the ousting of such consecrated leaders as Bodelschwingh and Dibelius, the subordination of the religious conscience to political necessities. The "outs" meet weekly, generally at the parsonage. The "ins" meet in the parish house, brown shirts in abundance, S. A. bands playing, speeches on the relationships between church and Hitlerism, concluding the evening with the Horst Wessel song.

Until 1933 the church parties were grouped along theological lines. These have disappeared and the regrouping into two parties, German Christians and "gospel and church," turns on the issue of the relationship of church and state. Lutheranism has awakened from her dogmatic slumber.

* * *

Millennial Idea Passes

When Hitler came in, the *Bibel Forscher* —"Millions now dying will never live," or some such motto—went out. Reasons: only one saving idea desired in Germany, too competitive, too many anti-Christs named, world coming to an end instead of just reawakening, Jews and communists allegedly active in the movement. Four months later one of their workers showed his head in Erfurth, distributing pamphlets. He was quenched. The millennial dispensation has definitely passed. Not so with the more powerfully organized Christian Scientists. Their meetings in Thuringia were forbidden, their books and accounts seized, a little organ even carted away. The world took notice. British Eddyists dispatched three mighty men, all in political life. The "local action" was regretted, property and privileges restored. But tension naturally remains. A definite group is working to bring all free churches under the reichsbischof. Regard for international relations should prevent this. We are praying that it may.

* * *

Religion's New Place In the Sun

A clause in the new press ordinance forbids the wounding of anyone's religious feelings. A far call from the days of the republic when the majority of liberal papers (all republican journals were Jewish owned) sponsored the free-thinking faddism. A far call from that 1873 issue of

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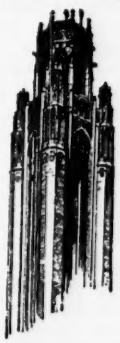

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the *Berliner Tageblatt* which celebrated the first birth registrations made outside the church by an article headed, "Hurrah, the first 10,000 pagans in Berlin!" Of course, this new press law doesn't imply that all nazis should follow Christ as their supreme leader. Alfred Rosenberg, prolific writer and editor of their official newspaper, ridicules Christianity in his book on "The Twentieth Century Myth." Among the leaders of the prospering Society for Pre-Christian German Civilization is Dr. von Leers, co-editor of *Der Angriff*, Berlin's nazi newspaper. This society subtly capitalizes the Hebraic origin of Christianity to capture converts for the primitive Teutonic faith. Christmas was a Teutonic festival, appropriated by Christianity. All good ideas in the Christian system were developed independently in Germany during a period of 12,000 years before the Christian era. One wing of the society insists that the civilization of the whole human race originated in pre-Christian nordic countries.

* * *

The New Reichsbischof on Church Taxation

The writer, accompanied by an American journalist, called on Müller, the present reichsbischof and churchman closest to Hitler. We asked him: "Do you not feel the system of church taxation to be unmodern and that free-will offering might bring a new spirit of sacrifice and consecration to the church as it has to the national socialist party?" The problem as stated was not troubling church leaders, we were informed. The only change contemplated was a reduction of church taxes for those living on the lowest scale of wages—provided the state would make a correspondingly large increase of subsidy for the church. Second question: "Does not the Christian as a Christian have a special duty to the German Jew?" Answer, "When a Jew comes to me desiring baptism I ask, 'Why?' If he is sincere and believes Christ to be the messiah we receive him, but we do not make him pastor of our churches any more than you appoint Negroes over your American congregations." Third question: "Does not the modern Christian have a special duty to outlaw the system of war before it plunges civilization into suicidal extinction?" Answer: "Our Master (meaning Jesus) sent us out into tribulation, there were to be wars and rumors of wars." Here the bishop placed his hand kindly but firmly on the writer's shoulder. "It is not given to us to know the ways and means God must use to bring his kingdom. Germany, of course, desires peace with all her neighbors."

* * *

A New Bishop for East Prussia

Pfarrer Fritz Kessel, of Berlin-Spandau, anti-communist crusader and widely known as the "pistol-carrying parson," has been appointed bishop of East Prussia, to succeed Müller as leader in "Germany's only colony." Kessel opposed communism so daringly that fearing for his life he started carrying a revolver. He became famous overnight when the newspapers brought a story of a minister of the gospel drawing on a communist street heckler. Another newly elected bishop is Oberheit, a young officer in Hitler's brown shirt army, who has been appointed to the Rheinland. This youthful leader has never had a church, but was still a probationer, serving his time between seminary and his first congregation.

* * *

Germany's Abandonment Of League

Germany's action in leaving the league and the disarmament conference is taken by many sincere Christian leaders here as salutary in so far as it crystalizes the actual acuteness of international relations in Europe. There are psychological limits to any people's endurance. If we are our brother's keepers we remain sensitive to such breaking points. During ten years of pacific, conciliatory republicanism Germany awaited a gesture on the part of the allies signifying their intention to keep their solemn promise of June, 1919. Instead, arms increased. The republic risked its very existence to fulfil the vindictive terms of the treaty. It believed the allies would come half-way with the young "new-deal" Germany. The republic risked, and lost.

EWART EDMUND TURNER

Presbyterians Increase Benevolent Budget Two Million

The Presbyterian general council has set its benevolence budget for the coming year at eight million dollars, an increase of two million over last year. J. Willison Smith, who presented the new budget, explains that the increase represents a vote of confidence in President Roosevelt's national recovery program. The report was adopted unanimously.

Finds Russia a Century Ahead of Rest of the World

Returning from his latest tour of Russia, Sherwood Eddy reports notable progress in its programs. Hunger is being relieved by a bumper harvest; on all sides there are evidences of road-building, new factories and new industrial cities. In social organization, Russia seems "almost a century in advance of the rest of the world."

Death of Mrs. John L. Nuelson

The Methodist board of foreign missions has received word from Rev. John L. Nuelson, Methodist bishop in Zurich, Switzerland, giving information that Mrs. Nuelson died Oct. 14 in the Methodist hospital in Zurich, following a lingering illness. Mrs. Nuelson had resided most of the time since 1908 in Europe, where Bishop Nuelson was assigned to episcopal supervision following his election as bishop.

Dr. Machen Heads Independent Foreign Mission Board

Dr. J. Gresham Machen, former Princeton seminary professor, and now connected with the conservative Westminster seminary in Philadelphia, has been elected president of the newly formed Independent Presbyterian board of foreign missions, reports the Presbyterian Banner.

Dr. W. S. Athearn Out as Butler Head, Report

Press reports indicate that Dr. Walter S. Athearn has been removed as president of Butler university, Indianapolis. It is hinted that Dr. Athearn offered resistance to his removal.

China Lives Amid Alarums

But Comparative Peace Reigns at Present —Missionaries Underestimate Vitality of Other Faiths—Y. W. Progressive

(Correspondence from China)

SHANGHAI, Oct. 2.—We live amid numerous political geysers which promise to explode as soon as someone drops a piece of soap in them! The question is, Who will drop the soap? General Fang Chen-Wu, a follower of Feng Yü-siang, started across the demilitarized zone created by the Tangku truce toward Peiping. But with the Japanese threatening his rear and the Chinese waiting for him in front, that particular geyser produced only a gurgle. Increasing disagreement over the Chinese Eastern railway and reported military preparations on the part of the U.S.S.R. are tautening feelings between that country and Japan. Inner Mongolia is gurgling with desire for increased independence. Who provides the soap is, in this case, a major issue. Taking advantage of present conditions Tibetans are trying to encroach upon China. These incipient spoutings we watch with a measure of apprehension. There is no telling how high or how wide heated waters therefrom may be flung!

* * *

Who Gets the New Loan?

These geysers are not in our immediate vicinity. There are excitements nearer home, however, which ruffle our placidity more directly. What, for instance, shall be done with that $50,000,000 loan from the United States? Apart from Japan's uncertainty about its political significance there is uncertainty about its use and effect in China. The government is set on using it for reconstruction purposes. It is reported, however, that requests for shares thereof totaling $900,000,000 have come to governmental headquarters. There is fear that the wheat acquired may lower the prices received here by farmers and uncertainty what to do about the cotton. One shipment of this latter has arrived and apparently been sold, though mystery so far shrouds the buyer. Nevertheless the national government is keeping its head over the matter. That the government does keep its head and its place, and is thinking in terms of reconstruction, are signs of considerable promise.

* * *

Who Got General Ma's Millions?

Another matter has stirred public indignation. In order to help General Ma Chan-shan, who though he failed in his resistance against the military encroachment of Japan in Manchuria became a national hero, Chinese patriots gathered together considerably over $20,000,000 silver. Of this General Ma received $1,700,000 only and another general about $73,000. This General Ma did not find out till fairly recently. His indignation and that of the public is caused by uncertainty as to the ultimate destination of

the balance. Inflated overhead administrative expenses and graft are given as explanations. Naturally the public wants an accounting. This, however, is complicated by the large number of groups which participated in this financial expression of patriotism.

* * *

Progress Being Made Toward National Unity

In spite of these rumbling geysers and these excitements over money misspent and waiting to be spent, there are not wanting signs that national unity in China is gaining rather than losing ground. Nanking and Canton have been, for instance, sharply divided as to whether the fifth national congress shall be held this year or later. Nanking has finally yielded the point and the congress is postponed. Then, too, the communists have apparently lost ground in Fukien. At the moment their strength seems to be waning. Christian workers among students, I notice, disagree as to whether communist influence is waxing or waning among the latter. Both are happening, I suspect, but not always in the same places. Finally those who should know aver that while we still have a one-party government the influence of the party is slowly being merged into that of a national government. Furthermore, the government is giving more consideration to the opinions of citizens not directly connected with either party or government. That is a sign that the government is getting closer to popular interests.

* * *

"Rethinking Missions" Not Yet Available in Chinese

The first excitement caused among the missionaries by "Rethinking Missions" is passing. The supplementary volumes of the Fact-Finders' reports are beginning to appear among us, though few have as yet been distributed in China, so far as I can ascertain. Interestingly enough, I have heard of some who are less satisfied with the way the facts have been handled than with "Rethinking Missions." So far the Chinese translation of the latter is not available for distribution among the Chinese. I noticed the other day, however, that in a center where those congregate who oppose its translation into Chinese there was posted a notice to the effect that a translation of Dr. Speer's critique thereof was available and ready for as many missionaries as were willing to distribute. The effect of that strategy should be to increase desire to read the original, I should think.

* * *

Missionaries Underestimate Vitality of Other Faiths

"Rethinking Missions" has suggested the possibility of better relations between Christians and adherents of non-Christian religions. One result has been a certain measure of excitement about its syncretistic implications. To put myself on the *qui vive* in this matter I have studied somewhat the actual attitudes and relationships between missionaries and the adherents of their environing religions. Evidently a large proportion of the missionaries know little about what these religions are doing and hence tend to underestimate them as forces in the life of China. This study and others show, however, that these religions are far from ready for final interment. Contrary to a widespread opinion there is evidence of live activity and thinking, on the part of Buddhists and Moslems particularly. Both individually and as groups they are working, also, at the problem of ameliorative social service, though their activities in this regard are not as variegated as those of the Christians; nor are they as near having a program of social reconstruction as the latter. Furthermore, contacts between individuals and even cooperation between differing religious groups as such is not as rare as some missionaries assume.

* * *

Cooperation Among Faiths Growing Inevitable

In only one case, that of Dr. Reichelt with Buddhists in south China, did I find anything resembling a "common quest for truth." I did find, however, considerable of a common quest for the betterment of human welfare. Knowing something of the values to be found in these religions, or some aspects of them, and having some hint of the devotion of a proportion of their adherents, I do not look askance, like most missionaries, at the idea of some sort of a "common quest for truth." I am decidedly convinced, moreover, that the incipient common quest for the betterment of human welfare should be developed much more assiduously than is at present being done. In so far as the Christian movement is (in spots) becoming community-conscious, cooperation in such a quest is becoming indispensable. Little, indeed, can be done by Christians in rebuilding communities until they uncover and link up with all the forces therein capable of working for the same end. Their central agency therein may well be the church but their working force and objective must include all of the needs and all of the possible agencies for meeting it that are available.

In this connection I note that the recent enthusiastic third national convention of the Y.W.C.A. in China voted so to change the basis of its membership as to admit therein those aiming at Christian objectives who are not formally lined up in the Christian church. The vision and Christian daring of the Y.W.C.A. is somewhat ahead of that of any other Christian organization in China, so far as my observation goes. In any event this field of cooperation between Christians and adherents of non-Christian religions for the common good is full of promise and should be assiduously cultivated. Then, too, all missionaries need to realize that, whatever the difference between their religious concepts may be, whenever adherents of differing religion meet in a community they face common needs and challenges to work for the common good.

FRANK RAWLINSON.

Succeeds Hillquit as Socialist Head

Leo Kryzcki, national organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has been elected national chairman of the socialist party to succeed the late Morris Hillquit. He has long been a member of the executive board of the party.

Dr. H. L. Willett Celebrates Half-Century in Ministry

Dr. Herbert L. Willett, for the past seven years minister of the Kenilworth (Chicago) union church, celebrated the 50th anniversary of his ministerial service Oct. 29. Dr. Willett preached his first sermon Nov. 5, 1883 at West Middletown, Pa., while a student at Bethany college. He early held pastorates in Cleveland and Dayton, O. In 1894 he organized the Hyde Park Church of Disciples, now the University Church of Disciples, and later was pastor for many years of the First Christian church and the Memorial Church of Christ. Since the opening of the University of Chicago Dr. Willett has been connected with the department of oriental languages and literatures, and was the first dean of the Disciples divinity house at the university. He is the author of many books.

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Pact Increases Turk Prestige

Bulgaria Not Pleased by Move—Tenth Anniversary of Turkish Republic—Persia and Foreigners

(Correspondence from Turkey)

ISTANBUL, Oct. 13.—That the Turco-Greek "pact of cordial entente" recently signed at Ankara by the Greek premier, Mr. Tsaldaris, would meet in Greece with the full approval of the opposition party, was not difficult to anticipate. Was not Mr. Venizelos, its very leader, the initiator of that policy? And when after the departure of the Greek ministers, he came to spend here one week as Ismet Pasha's personal guest, he not only was welcomed with the same marks of consideration as when he was in power, but he could also share in the triumph of the policy which has given Greece the advantage of having her territorial integrity guaranteed by her former enemy. To the man who 13 years ago launched his country into the hopeless Anatolian campaign, this may perhaps have served as balm to his pain.

In Bulgaria, the Ankara pact has been interpreted as a hard blow on Bulgarian national hopes for revision. Public opinion expressed deep resentment at the forestalling by the southern neighbors of Bulgarian aspirations regarding an issue on the Aegean sea. So, when once more asked to join with Greece and Turkey in a tripartite agreement, Bulgaria, despite the danger of being isolated in the Balkans, did not feel able to forfeit her claims to treaty revision by participating in the Ankara pact. For the same reason, she had previously refused to join in the little entente pact, and to sign the convention defining the aggressor.

The outcome of Ismet Pasha's visit to Sofia was limited to the renewal for a further period of five years of the Turco-Bulgarian pact of friendship.

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Increased Prestige For Turkey

Meanwhile, these events promptly called the attention of the little entente—composed of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. King Alexander of Yugoslavia was commissioned to see how matters stood. First, he had an interview with King Boris; then with Mustafa Kemal Pasha at Istanbul; and finally with leading Greek statesmen at Corfu. One thing gradually emerges from all this, and that is that the question for or against revision is now bringing under the same tent countries of diverging interests, but equally opposed to any forceful modification of the present state of things.

As for Turkey, accrued prestige abroad is the main benefit of the transaction. The Rumanian minister for foreign affairs is due to arrive this week at Ankara, and his visit will be closely followed by that of General Gombos, the Hungarian prime minister. Obviously, what will be discussed and decided at Ankara is likely to tell in the developments of central European affairs. In the meantime, there is much rumor of a pact of friendship to be signed between Turkey and Yugoslavia.

* * *

Tenth Anniversary of Turkish Republic

On Oct. 29 will be celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Turkish republic. When it was proclaimed on Oct. 29, 1923, it did not replace the sultanate, for this had already been abolished eleven months before as a consequence of the flight of the last of the Osmanli sultans; neither did it initiate a new form of government, as the one in existence since 1920 was practically republican. During the whole of the war of independence, the power to govern was vested with the great national assembly, and the ministers—to whom under perhaps Russian influence the name of commissioners was given—were but automatic instruments of the decisions taken by that body. In the long run, this system proved inefficient and difficult to handle. So, under the gazi's pressure, the republic, conceived much after western models, was proclaimed. From that day perhaps dates Turkey's avowed westernization.

Seldom will orators be given a more grateful task than that which will consist in praising the work done during the past decade. They will only have to recall the reforms which have given a modern status to the people, equality of rights to women, and the Latin script to the nation. But above all they will be able to point to freedom regained, and an increased prestige in European affairs.

In order to commemorate the event worthily, Turkey is expected to rejoice three nights and three days. All houses will have to be flagged and illuminated, and—this is perhaps less commendable—an amnesty will bring liberty to a great number of convicts. For ten days preceding, and another ten days following Oct. 29, all transport tariffs will be considerably lowered. During the three days of festivities, inland postage will be reduced by one-half; and it will be entirely free for all publications dealing with the tenth anniversary of the republic and approved of by the authorities.

* * *

Persia and Foreigners

News from Persia brings word that a new law regulating the status of foreign physicians, surgeons, dentists, druggists, midwives, etc., was recently passed by the "Majlis." According to its provisions, the government may authorize foreign physicians to practice in Persia, provided they have graduated from medical schools approved by the ministry of education and can produce evidence that they have been in practice for at least five years. The licenses will be issued by the minister of the interior, who reserves the right to determine where the applicants will be allowed to practice. The law applies also to members of the medical professions who have been practicing in Persia prior to that date, but the five-year provision will not necessarily be applicable to them. In addition to ordinary fees and taxes, each foreign physician or surgeon will pay a fee of 2000 rials, and each foreign dentist, druggist or midwife a fee of 1000 rials. The aim of the government is to limit the practice of medicine to Persian nationals only. As soon as the requisite number of practitioners is reached, the issuing of new permits to foreign physicians will be stopped.

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Jewish Pageant a Financial Success

Gross receipts from the Jewish spectacle, "The Romance of a People," which was given several presentations in New York city, were $450,000; net receipts were about $200,000. This money will be used primarily for the rehabilitation of Jews exiled from Germany.

Nominates Roosevelt or Litvinov For Nobel Peace Prize

Miss Anna Louise Strong, founder and associate editor of the Moscow Daily News, arriving in America for a lecture tour, suggests that President Roosevelt's reopening of the Russia recognition question should gain him the Nobel peace prize—"if Maxim Litvinov doesn't get it first."

World's Week of Prayer, Nov. 12-18.

The national board of the Y. W. C. A. has sent out a call to prayer and more than 50 countries will unite in a "week of prayer and world fellowship" Nov. 12-18. The general subject chosen for meditation is "The Uniqueness of Christ." Leaflets with suggested services have been printed in three languages, French, German and English, and sent to all countries where Y associations are established.

Presbyterians Submit "Plan of Union"

The joint committee on organic union of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America has completed the formulation of a "plan of union," in accordance with instructions from the general assemblies of the two churches. This "plan" will be presented to the general assemblies of the churches at their 1934 meetings, with the recommendation that it be submitted to the constituent presbyteries for a direct affirmative or negative vote.

Pageant-Drama Depicts Bible's Significance

"Let There Be Light!" is the title of a new pageant-drama consisting of music, hymns, tableaux, etc., for the use of churches and schools desiring to present a message in dramatic form on the value and significance of the Bible. It is especially suitable for use on Universal Bible Sunday, Dec. 10. Copies may be secured at 25 cents from the American Bible Society, Bible House, Astor Place, New York.

Milwaukee Leaders Ask Employment Of Colored People

At its October meeting the Milwaukee race relations council prepared recommendations urging that "employers of labor adopt the policy of giving work to capable persons without regard to color." "We believe that the giving of work to the colored people, at least somewhat in proportion to their numbers, will be a sound social and economic policy." There are in Milwaukee about 12,000 colored per-

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sons. The Milwaukee race relations council is composed of representatives from the Milwaukee council of churches, the Federated church women, the Woman's league of peace and freedom, the Milwaukee woman's club, the Urban league and other organizations.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Anne Vickers

(Irene Dunne, Walter Huston) (RKO) Quite faithful filming of Sinclair Lewis's novel of career and illicit loves of social-worker heroine, against background of prison reform, harrowing at times. More restrained and less vigorous than the book. Well cast and well acted.

For A: Fair. For Y: Unwholesome. For C: No.

Before Dawn

(Stuart Erwin, Dorothy Wilson) (Radio) Gruesome Edgar Wallace murder mystery, motivated by hidden fortune left by dead thief and guarded by his death mask. Clairvoyant power of heroine proves effective in solving mystery. Drama as a whole is slow-moving and unreal.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Mediocre. For C: By no means.

Dinner at Eight

(All star cast) (MGM) Pretentious array of many stars in series of episodes connected only by liaisons and thread of plot. Some fine work by Dressler, Burke, Barrymores, Lowe and Tracy, with obvious, sure-fire roles for Harlow and Beery. Social comedy of little significance or dramatic value.

For A: Fair. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Ever in My Heart

(Barbara Stanwyck, Otto Kruger) (Warner) Bitter racial hatred at outbreak of war cruelly affects loyal German-American citizen and fine American wife. Crushed, defeated, he turns German spy, meets wife serving in canteen who bravely meets situation. Poignant drama, finely acted and produced, but psychology debatable.

For A: Fine of kind. For Y: Very mature. For C: Too mature.

The Kennel Murder Case

(William Powell, Mary Astor) (Warner) The Van Dine detective character smoothly played by Powell as Philo Vance has two crimes to solve in this absorbing murder mystery. Natural acting and clever plot not too involved, differing somewhat from original story.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Good. For C: Perhaps.

Police Call

(Nick Stuart, Merna Kennedy) (Mayfair) Stupid "thriller" about prize-fight champion who wants to be an archeologist, but trouble with racketeers sends him to scientific treasure-hunting in Guatemala and rather absurd love affair. Typical hash, made in a hurry, poorly acted, deceptively titled.

For A: Stupid. For Y: Trash. For C: No.

Tarzan the Fearless

(Buster Crabbe) (Principal) First 4 episodes of above-average serial of Tarzan's jungle encounter with heroine seeking lost father, both of whom he rescues often. Some good photography, variety of action, much of Crabbe's physique, but mediocre acting and plot very long drawn out.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Good. For C: Good but exciting.

Best Recent Films for Family:

Three Cornered Moon	Lady for a Day
Dangers of the Arctic	F. P. 1.
Paddy the Next Best Thing	S. O. S. Iceberg

Films of Special Interest to Adults:

Tugboat Annie	One Man's Journey
The Good Companions	Doctor Bull
Voltaire	One Sunday Afternoon

BOOKS RECEIVED

What I Like, by William Lyon Phelps. Scribners, $2.75

The Conquest of a Continent, or the Expansion of Races in America, by Madison Grant. Scribners, $3.00.

The Art of Conference, by Frank Walser. Harpers, $3.00.

Along the Road to Bethlehem, by Jules Supervielle. Dutton, $1.25.

The Maid Silja, by F. E. Sillanpaa. Translated from the Finnish by Alexander Matson. Macmillan, $2.00.

A Philosophic Approach to Communism, by Theodore B. Brameld. University of Chicago Press, $2.50.

The Dilemma of the Supreme Court: Is the NRA Constitutional? by Maurice Finkelstein. John Day, 25 cents.

Christianity and Communism, by H. G. Wood. Round Table Press, $2.00.

George Washington Himself, a common-sense biography written from his manuscripts, by John C. Fitzpatrick. Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50.

The Finished Scoundrel, General James Wilkinson, by Royal Ornan Shreve. Bobbs-Merrill, $3.00.

Karl and the 20th Century, by Rodolf Brunngraber. Morrow, $2.50.

Glory, by Francis Stuart. Macmillan, $2.00.

The Minister's Annual, 1934, edited by Joseph M. Ramsey. Revell, $2.00.

Lynching and the Law, by J. H. Chadbourn. University of North Carolina Press, $2.00.

Cat's-cradles for His Majesty, by Margaret and Mary Baker. Duffield & Green, $2.00.

The Victors, by E. J. Craine. Duffield & Green, $2.00.

The Bird of Dawning, or The Fortune of the Sea, by John Masefield. Macmillan, $2.50.

The Prophets of Israel, by S. Parkes Cadman, illustrated by Frank O. Salisbury. Macmillan, $3.25.

Dangerous Thoughts on the Orient, by F. R. Eldridge. Appleton-Century, $2.50.

Adult Education and the Social Scene, by Ruth Kotinsky. Appleton-Century.

The American Way: Franklin Roosevelt in Action, by Earle Looker. John Day, $2.50.

Mathew Merian's Illustrated Bible, edited and annoted by William Lyon Phelps. Morrow, $2.75.

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